

Polly Toynbee
Labour's crime opportunity, page 15



Nigel Kennedy, the monster maestro

Section Two



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MONDAY 24 JUNE 1996

WEATHER: Sunshine and some cloud

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Germans undermine Major

SARAH HELM and JOHN RENTOU

Kohl aims to frustrate Tory election plans on Europe

The German government is now working actively to undermine John Major, and believes that Europe must wait for Tony Blair to become Prime Minister before progress can be made on European co-operation.

A senior adviser to Helmut Kohl, the German Chancellor, has told the *Independent*: "We have known for a long time that it will be hard to make more progress with this government. Now we are sure that ever that we must wait for Tony Blair."

But, in a dramatic move which will prolong had-tended relations with other EU countries, Mr Major intends to

make domestic political capital from the repercussions of the beef row. He believes German warmth towards Mr Blair will backfire on Labour.

The German strategy is to stop Mr Major gaining domestic popularity on European issues: diplomats took a hard line at the Florence summit to avoid the kinds of concessions which the British Government could present as a triumph.

The harder line, against Britain will become clear at a mini-summit to be held in Dublin in October on the Inter-Governmental Conference,

which is rewriting the Maastricht treaty. Britain's partners look set to redouble their efforts to reduce the national veto, which will reinforce Britain's isolation. "The beef war has been very nasty, it will not be forgotten," said a senior German source. Germany's strategy to prevent Mr Major winning domestic support as a result of the European debate, was deliberately deployed in the negotiations on the beef agreement.

German officials were instructed by Bonn to ensure that nothing in the final truce

at Florence could be used by Mr Major for domestic political advantage, said the sources.

Mr Major believes the EU's attempt to punish him for his intransigence over beef by speeding up the timetable for revising the Maastricht Treaty will play into his hands by ending the "shadow boxing" over the EU's future. It was thought that the unexpected plan to draw up a text of a revised treaty this autumn would be awkward for the Government, because it would underline Britain's isolation in Europe. However, Mr Major's advisers say he intends to use

the draft treaty to contrast his policy on Europe with Mr Blair's, in a way that he believes will work to his advantage in the run-up to a general election.

Malcolm Rifkind, the Foreign Secretary, yesterday promised more conflict over a European Court of Justice ruling which is expected to confirm the imposition of a maximum 48-hour week for many workers.

In strong language calculated to offend other EU countries, he described the original directive as a "disgrace", which attempted to get round Britain's Social Chapter opt-out. But he

ruled out suggestions the Government might refuse to abide by the court's decision.

"We obey the law. We are a party and a Government that believes in the rule of law," Mr Rifkind said. The Government would use its "significant amount of leverage" in talks on the revision of the Maastricht Treaty to try to get the working-hours law reclassified under the Social Chapter - which would not apply to Britain.

He also dismissed suggestions that the EU would seek to punish Britain for its non-cooperation policy by imposing

new sanctions against any country which applies such blocking tactics in the future. The Belgian Prime Minister, Jean-Luc Dehaene, yesterday suggested withholding payments from EU budgets to non-cooperating member states. But Mr Rifkind insisted that such a change would require treaty amendments which Britain could veto.

Tory backbench critics are expected to hold their fire today when Mr Major makes a statement to the Commons about the settlement of the beef dispute, although one leading right-winger said privately he felt

he had been "marched down the hill again by the Grand Old Duke of York".

Speaking at the end of the Florence summit on Saturday, Mr Major welcomed the prospect of battles over the erosion of the national veto, the powers of the European Court of Justice, and the Social Chapter. Implicitly dismissing the idea of an autumn election, he said: "I very much welcome the decision to seek to bring forward a draft treaty text for discussion at Dublin in December."

The sooner we can actually see the substantive detailed points... the sooner we can get down to genuine debate rather than some of the shadow boxing that occurs in advance."



Happy ending: Archbishop Tutu shares a moment with his wife, Leah, at the farewell service in Cape Town

Photograph: Mike Hutchings/Reuters

Tutu laughs all the way to retirement

JOHN CARLIN

Nelson Mandela and the Archbishop of Canterbury joined a host of praise-singers at an emotional ceremony yesterday to mark the retirement of Archbishop Desmond Tutu, after 10 momentous years as the head of South Africa's Anglican Church.

"He speaks his mind on matters of public morality," President Mandela told a packed audience at Cape Town's St George's Cathedral. "As a result he annoyed many of the leaders of the apartheid system. Nor has he spared those that followed him."

Archbishop Tutu, whose reflex is always to see the funny side of things, would have allowed himself a private chuckle at that. For it was Mr Mandela himself whom the archbishop annoyed, barely five months after South Africa's first democratic elections, when he famously declared that the new government had "stopped the gray train only long enough to get on it."

Mr Mandela responded, calling the archbishop an irresponsible populist. The battle of

the saints took on new heat when the archbishop shot back, saying the president, whom he acknowledges to be the man he most admires on earth, was behaving "beneath his stature".

I spoke to Archbishop Tutu at his Cape Town residence a couple of days after the spat. Lying back in an armchair, shoes off, purple-socked feet resting on a velvet stool, he chortled when I asked him whether he

and the president had made up. "I called him, and he called me back later, and I said, 'Why are you attacking me, man? And you know what? He laughed, man. He laughed!'"

At the recollection of which the archbishop himself laughed so hard he almost fell off his chair. Our interview lasted an hour. When I listened to the tape, recording the next day I counted him laughing 30 times

— not the sort of behaviour you would necessarily expect of a man who has won the Nobel peace prize for his central role in one of the 20th century's greatest dramas, the end of apartheid.

But the archbishop, a deeply spiritual man who spends hours of his day in prayer, has too much of a sense of his own anti-like irrelevance in the broader scheme of things to allow him-

self the indulgence of pompous self-absorption. On the other hand, he never stinted in using the authority of his terrestrial office to condemn injustice. At critical moments in the early part of the decade, when it seemed the negotiated revolution would drown in the conflict that Inkatha and the apartheid security apparatus were inflicting on the townships, he intervened to cool passions.

After spear-wielding Inkatha warriors massacred 42 innocents in Boipatong in June 1992, Mr Mandela broke off talks with the government of F.W. de Klerk. At the mass funeral Archbishop Tutu savaged the government — but also, with finely calculated oratorical daring, he made the crowd laugh, reminding them with jibes at the absurdity of legally enforced racial discrimination of the basic principles they all shared. "What if people were denied the right to vote not because of the colour of their skins but because they had big noses?"

Later, when the time came to celebrate, no one captured the mood better than Archbishop Tutu. Election Day, 27 April 1994, had been "like falling in love", he said. Introducing Mr Mandela to a huge Cape Town crowd on the day he was officially sworn in as president, the archbishop cried out: "We of many cultures, languages and races are become one nation. We are the Rainbow People of God... One man inspires us all, one man inspired the whole world. I ask you: welcome our brand new state president, out of the box, Nelson Mandela!"

Interview: Carey's new crusade

ANDREW MARR

Britain needs to recover a sense of shame and sin or risk the collapse of our kind of civilisation, Dr George Carey, the Archbishop of Canterbury, warns this morning.

In an interview with the *Independent*, conducted just before the Archbishop flew to South Africa for yesterday's ceremony, Dr Carey calls — in some of the strongest language to come out of Lambeth Palace for several years — for a crusade to re-moralise the country.

He will launch his crusade in

a House of Lords debate later this month. Dr Carey speaks of his fear that Britain has become a society "in which unbelief has become the norm and practising Christianity a minority pursuit... I am going to be warning against that, and actually questioning whether that is going to lead to the collapse of the kind of civilisation as we have known it." He demands a new moral agenda in schools, and an end to what he calls the privatisation of morality.

Speaking with remarkable frankness, the Archbishop confesses to doubts about his abil-

ity to influence the country. "When I am at my most pessimistic, I seriously doubt whether we can actually do any more than blow trumpets from castle tops and warn." But he believes there is a new openness to religion, after the anti-religious ride of the Sixties.

Dr Carey says he hopes the millennium — which he described as "a Christian party to which everyone is welcome" — will encourage a revival of spirituality. He believes politicians have given the impression that "economic order and prosperity and consumerism" is

what matters most. By contrast, he argues that "the real fabric of society is the spiritual and moral fabric, and this is the kind of currency that makes civilisations function".

He adds: "We've lost a language of blame and sin. The word sin is now a word dying, leaving our vocabulary. Was it Oscar Wilde who said the distinction between man and animals is that man knows how to blush? I wonder if we've lost a sense of shame. And I think that's something we need to work on."

Full interview, page 14

... But on the pitch, it's back to 1966 and all that

PAUL FIELD

So, it will be 1966 re-visited. On Wednesday night, England and Germany will meet at Wembley in the Euro 96 semi-finals in what England fans hope will be a repeat of that dramatic July day 30 years ago when Bobby Moore lifted the World Cup.

A 20th-minute penalty by Jurgen Klinsmann and a 58th minute strike by sweepster Matthias Sammer yesterday gave Germany victory over Croatia.

The clash on Wednesday night at Wembley is likely to be billed as a compressed and bloodless Battle of Alamein. If the 4-2 World Cup scoreline marked an emotional peak in the national psyche, then the agony of defeat on penalties in Italia 90 in Turin heralded an all-time collective low.

On Saturday, 17.9m people watched the match against Spain on BBC1. City centres were deserted and power firms reported a 1,100 megawatt surge after the victory. News-

papers speculated on a boom in babies next spring after reporting that testosterone pumps around in large doses after euphoria, increasing virility and sperm count.

So if the nation held its breath on Saturday, the Wednesday clash could cause respiratory problems.

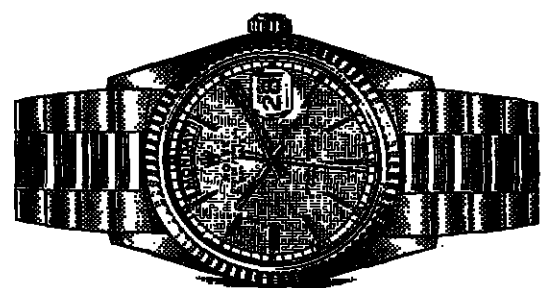
In the meantime, expect more hysteria and jingoism in the tabloids. They encouraged England to "give the Spaniards" and the Dutch "edam good thrashing". Given two world wars and a battle over beef, courage has thus far probably been tame.

After yesterday's quarter final, William Hill made Germany 7/4 favourites to win the tournament. England at 2-1 are second favourites.

Police will be hoping nationalist fervour does not spark violence between rival fans. In 1994, a proposed friendly was postponed because it coincided with Hitler's birthday.

24-page sports section today

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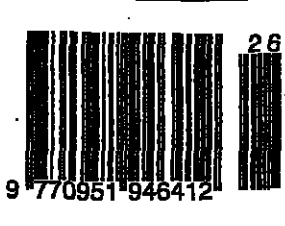
*Watch shown is available in 18ct. yellow gold priced £9,000, white gold £10,500 and platinum £16,900.

Alarming charge
The police are planning to charge up to £35 for answering burglar alarm calls to more than 800,000 homes and businesses. Page 5

Comprehensive hope
John Major's ambition to have grammar schools in every town will not mean the end of comprehensive education, a government adviser said. Page 2

Live fast, die young
British women are working harder, marrying more frequently and dying younger than any of their European counterparts, a survey says. Page 2

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news

Grammar schools' plan attacked

FRAN ABRAMS
Education Correspondent

The Prime Minister's ambition to have grammar schools in every town will not mean the end of comprehensive education, a leading Government adviser said yesterday.

Dr John Marks, a member of the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority and a campaigner for more selection, said non-selective schools doing well would be bound to survive.

Labour dismissed John Major's grammar schools expansion, saying it would cost £2bn.

and highlighted a Cabinet split on the issue.

Dr Marks said the change would be a gradual one. "There may well be a return to more grammar schools, but it won't mean the end of comprehensive education. There are many good comprehensive schools. I don't see why they should not remain where they are doing a satisfactory job," he said.

However, he argued that the new policy would raise standards. Even the average secondary modern school had exam results better than the worst quarter of comprehen-

sives, he said. There should be more technical schools as well.

Others believe the policy will have little effect. Only a handful of the existing 1,000 opted-out schools have applied to select pupils by academic ability, and most head teachers say they are happy with the current system. In Solihull and Lincoln, plans to bring back selection have foundered because of parental opposition.

As new details emerged of the proposals, Labour claimed Gillian Shephard, the Secretary of State for Education and Employment, had been forced into

"an extraordinary U-turn" by Downing Street. For years she had supported non-selective schools, said Labour's education spokesman, David Blunkett. The reform, first announced by Mr Major last September, will give the funding agency for grant maintained schools the power to build new grammar schools from scratch.

Mrs Shephard is believed to have supported the abolition of grammar schools in Norfolk after she became a Conservative councillor there in 1977. More recently she has expressed reluctance to return to

a selective system. Just after her appointment she told the *Independent*: "I am much more interested in specialist schools than in selective schools."

Yesterday Mr Blunkett said Mrs Shephard had been an enthusiastic opponent of selection. "Now she seems ready to embrace a philosophy which will appear to be the Downing Street policy unit. She will have very little credibility indeed when she puts forward her proposals in the Commons (tomorrow)."

An analysis carried out for Mr Blunkett shows that it would cost £2bn to build 200 new

grammar schools to educate 60,000 pupils - less than 2 per cent of the secondary school population. The money would be enough to pay for full-time nursery education for all three and four year-olds.

Yesterday Labour party officials said the plans could create surplus places in other schools and upset existing, non-selective schools which had suffered cuts in funding for building work. Neither the Department for Education and Employment nor Conservative Central Office had any comment to make yesterday.

British women top for death and divorce

REBECCA FOWLER

British women are working harder, divorcing more frequently and dying younger than their continental counterparts, according to a survey published today that suggests they have benefited least from the feminist revolution.

Instead they have the lowest life expectancy at 79 years compared to 81.4 in France; the highest number of jobs, with 65 per cent of British women in work; and more children, with the highest fertility rate in Europe at 1.75 per woman.

In sharp contrast women in France are receiving more further education as well as living longer; and Italian and Spanish women are having fewer children, but they are also the least likely to work.

Steve Cordingley, a spokesman for Market Assessment Publications, which conducted the analysis, said: "It appears that women in Britain have had the worst deal from feminism in the past 10 years. They're not getting as much further education, but they're still working harder and dying younger." He added: "There would appear to be a link between the high numbers of women working and dying younger, because it is also high in Germany where a large number of women have jobs."

The report shows the stress has apparently taken its toll on British women. While they marry youngest, on average aged 27.7, they have the highest number of break-ups. Four in seven marriages ending in divorce compared to the European average of one in three.

For women the place to be is France. More than half receive further education, 54 per cent, outnumbering men. Increasingly they opt to live with their partner, rather than marry, bringing down the divorce rate, but they still have a high fertility rate, 1.65 per woman.



Rock of ages: Punk fans took the children along to Finsbury Park, north London, last night for the Sex Pistols comeback show. Photograph: Tony Buckingham

When nurses wield the knife

LIZ HUNT

It is one of the oldest games in the book, the "doctor/nurse" game, played out in surgeries and operating theatres across the country every day, and essential to the smooth-running of the health service.

The game - actually a recognised theory of nursing first described in the Sixties - revolves around a nurse making a decision about a patient, taking action and then, with the collusion of the doctor, "pretending" that the doctor did it all to appease hospital authorities, the law and the public.

Now it appears the game has moved on, with the case of a 47-year-old nurse, Gillian Erickson, who has carried out more than 300 unsupervised operations. She has the blessing of

What's wrong with a sister performing surgery? asks Liz Hunt

the Wirral Hospitals Trust, the surgeons at Clatterbridge Hospital where she works, and the agreement of each patient. Collusion, it seems, is no longer necessary.

The revelation has generated the predictable knee-jerk reaction from some quarters. One senior consultant claims that people are now being treated "worse than animals which can be operated on only by a qualified vet."

That this is a minority view was reinforced by the wholehearted backing of doctor's leaders yesterday, who agreed with Mrs Erickson's assertion

that an experienced nurse is more competent than a junior doctor in training.

Dr Mac Armstrong, Secretary of the British Medical Association, said: "This is entirely consistent with what we believe is development of the relationship between the professions."

Dr Armstrong said that the consultant had the ultimate responsibility for a patient from diagnosis to discharge. A doctor would not delegate to anyone that he or she thought was incompetent.

Dr Vivienne Nathanson, head of Professional Services at the BMA, said: "Doctors are

not about individual treatment or tests, but the overall view and management of the patient and their condition." Mrs Erickson, who has more than 20 years experience as a theatre nurse, is unusual in that she initiated her new role at Clatterbridge.

She put forward a business proposal in which she carried out certain surgical techniques unsupervised - including biopsies, and the removal of cysts. The proposal was rapidly accepted and consultants now refer some patients to Mrs Erickson for her own surgical list.

Previous schemes, in which nurses assist surgeons, tend to have been promoted by doctors who have observed practice in American hospitals. Suzanne

Holmes, a nurse at the John Radcliffe hospital in Oxford, was one of the first. She worked alongside a heart surgeon stripping out veins for bypass operations, as is routine in the US.

Despite this - and the publicity the scheme attracted in 1992 - there was still an outcry when it emerged in 1994, Valerie Imblinson, a nurse at the Treilke Hospital in Truro, had removed a patient's appendix, albeit supervised by a surgeon.

The surgeon was cautioned and the nurse took early retirement.

Gillian Erickson looks set to change all that, and with the increasing demand for health care services, and the continuing crisis in medical staffing, she'll be the first of many.

Plea on doctor-patient sex

A plea for greater understanding for doctors who have sex with a patient is likely to be one of the most controversial motions debated by the British Medical Association conference in Brighton this week.

A doctor who develops a relationship with a patient in his care risks censure by the public and the profession, disciplinary action and is threatened with suspension from the medical register.

But this is an outdated view, according to Dr Michael Crowe, a GP from Leicester, who has tabled the motion calling for an "official warning" in place of threatened suspension by the General Medical Council.

Supporters say that the careers of numerous GPs and consultants have been ruined by affairs between consenting adults which turn sour, and the patient - usually a woman - has

sought revenge by making a complaint. Dr Mac Armstrong, secretary of the BMA, said that the debate proposed for Wednesday, would test whether or not the doctor-patient relationship had progressed to a state of equality, such that it could not be assumed that a doctor was exploiting a vulnerable patient. "What the movers of the motion seem to be saying is, is it right, that as a matter of principle, any doctor who gets involved with a patient is doing wrong?"

Those who oppose the motion say that a doctor-patient relationship can never be equal, and that severe disciplinary action is a necessary deterrent to protect the vulnerable. They say the motion challenges the very heart of the Hippocratic Oath.

The debate is prompted by the recent case of Dr Keith Plisworth, a GP in Lincolnshire, who was suspended from the

register after an affair with a patient. A petition signed by 1,000 patients had no impact on the GMC. His son, also a GP, then committed suicide and Dr Plisworth was subsequently reinstated.

The meetings will also decide if the BMA is heading for a collision with the Government over private financing of the NHS. More than 500 representatives will debate the issue tomorrow, amid fears that it is the start of creeping privatisation of the NHS, and the whittling away of standards of care and accountability demanded.

Dr Armstrong said current developments - a private finance initiative, market testing of clinical services, and the purchasing of treatment or services from private providers - could be viewed as "the very insidious process of piecemeal privatisation."

Leading Article, page 13

Bill vote has hidden agenda

PATRICIA WYNN DAVIES

A fierce battle is looming in the Commons tonight when the Government tries to amend the 1689 Bill of Rights so that Neil Hamilton, the former minister forced to resign over "cash for questions" allegations, can pursue a libel action.

Labour has already made it clear that it will not support a little-noticed clause that has been added to an otherwise largely uncontroversial Defamation Bill to bring about the fundamental constitutional change.

The proposal in the Bill would allow an MP to waive the centuries-old Parliamentary privilege under which freedom of speech in Parliament cannot be questioned in a court. But MPs would still not be able to be sued over what they say in

Parliament about outsiders.

The attempt to alter Article 9 of the Bill of Rights, which conferred the immunity, came after the High Court stopped Mr Hamilton, the former corporate affairs minister, and the lobbying company Ian Greer Associates, from suing the *Guardian*. The newspaper's lawyers, Lovell White Durrant, successfully argued that Article 9 would prevent it from properly cross-examining Mr Hamilton over alleged payments from Mohamed al-Fayed, the chairman of Harrods, and allegations that he failed to declare an expenses-paid stay in the Ritz hotel in Paris, owned by Mr Fayed.

MPs are technically being given a free vote tonight but Tory backbenchers will be left in no doubt of the Government's strong support for

amendment in a secret whipping operation.

The amendment from the recently appointed Lord, Lord Hoffman, was passed following two failed attempts, after Government business managers packed the chamber with sympathetic Tory peers, including Margaret Thatcher. But Lord Hoffman was away from the division lobby at the crucial time and ended up not voting for his own amendment.

Mr Hamilton has argued that MPs are "uniquely hobbled" by Article 9, but even some Tory MPs have privately voiced fears that the new right to sue over reports of their Parliament-related activities is too extensive, too weighted towards Parliamentarians and could produce a host of unintended consequences.

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Country homes boom: Return of the big City bonus means that demand for the grand old houses outstrips the number for sale

Rush on to find a rural retreat

ROS WYNNE-JONES

Wanted: period house in the country, five bedrooms, three bathrooms, paddock, private grounds, near to mainline station and motorway, within two or three hours of London. Country homes are in short supply. Estate agents say there is growing demand for a house in the country – particularly from City workers as top-level bonuses rise to Eighties levels – but few grand properties are coming onto the market. The result is that houses are snapped up within days of being advertised and gazumping has returned with many potential buyers waiting months for a suitable home to appear.

In the latest residential property survey of the Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors, over one third of agents reported a sharp increase in the value of country properties, with 70 per cent of agents marking the trend in London and the home counties.

Rob Thomas, a housing market analyst for the stockbrokers UBS, said: "The country homes market is certainly buoyant at the moment and increased size of City bonuses is a major factor. We're not seeing the silly salaries of the late Eighties, but

bonuses can be very good. This is not necessarily a new thing, but the higher salaries have been masked until recently by the numbers of people being made redundant."

Recent figures have shown that 110,000 people in Britain now earn at least £100,000 per year, he says, many of whom earn substantially above that figure. He estimates that around 100 people earn above £1m.

Another major factor is the improving fortunes of the Lloyds names. "There is light at the end of the tunnel now for the Lloyds names," he says, "a large number of whom live in big houses outside London." Many had been forced to sell up over the past three years, which affected the market.

Graham Waterton, of Strutt and Parker in Salisbury, said there was an acute shortage of country properties in his area. "The housing market is polarised at the moment: the country house market is experiencing a mini-boom, while the rest of the market is fairly stable," he says.

Buyers are less likely to get trapped in the high mortgages that were the trend of the Eighties, he explains, and more likely to make large down-payments, where the capital could



Des. res: Marley Hall, in Wareside, Hertfordshire, on the market for £1.25m, is typical of the kind of country property in demand

Photograph: Brian Harris

be one or two years' bonus. "I had a chap come in here once and buy a house with his year's bonus of £650,000," he says.

One family hindered by the boom are the Robinsons. When their children reached school age they decided to sell their two houses in west London to make

their principal home in the country, perhaps keeping a flat in the capital. Three years later, they are still looking for a suitable property and the current boost to the country house market is not making things any easier.

"It is just terrifying," says

Mrs Robinson. "We had a place to move to, but we were gazumped. Since then we have been renting in the Salisbury area, where we eventually hope to live. The problem is that no one can find anywhere to buy, so everyone is renting and there is now a shortage of places for

rent." The family were living in holiday cottages until a house came up for six months rental while the owners went abroad. That house was the country home the Robinsons had been gazumping trying to buy.

"So, now we live in the house and it's perfect: ten minutes

from both the girls' schools, near a good road, private grounds, close to a mainline station," says Mrs Robinson. "The trouble is, come October and we're homeless again. There's just nowhere to buy."

This is bad news for buyers like the Robinsons. "When a

house does eventually come on the market, people like us have to go and agree a mortgage with bank and go through all the paperwork," says Mrs Robinson. "These bankers just come in with their £50-100,000 bonuses, slam them down on the table and the house has gone."

Pieces of plastic that do very nicely

GLENDIA COOPER

Live television pictures were beamed from the Moon, England won the World Cup and Twigg earned 10 guineas an hour. And in those heady days of 1966, one of the most significant changes in our relationship with money occurred – the introduction to Britain of the credit card.

Thirty years on, it is hard to imagine a life without flexible friends – nearly 40 per cent of adults in the United Kingdom hold a credit card. And in the

last two years, after a dip in use during the recession, competition for the market is getting even more fierce.

In the last week alone *Hello!*, the magazine which chronicles the lives of celebrities and minor European royals, was said to be planning its own Visa card and the Prince's Youth Business Trust, the charity founded by the Prince of Wales to help young people start businesses, launched its own card.

The first example of paying by plastic dates back to the Twenties in the United States,

where the Shoppers' Plate was launched, a card roughly equivalent to today's chargecard with the amount in full being settled at the end of the month.

But the credit card as we know it came into existence in the mid-Sixties, again in the US, with BankAmericard, which later became Visa. Today there are gold cards, debit cards, charge cards, cashpoint cards and affinity cards.

Back in 1966 seven Barclays Bank staff spent six months in a disused shoe factory in Northampton preparing for the plastic-card revolution which took place on the 29 June. The official launch was led by one of the largest ever press advertisements. Barclays promised to publish the name and address of every person accepting the new card; 30,000 signed up and the ad extended over eight pages of the *Daily Mail*.

By the end of 1966 there were 1 million cardholders and 30,000 retailers accepted the card. Today, according to APACS, the UK payment industry body, there are 26.8 million cards in existence and the last available figures suggest that money spent on them comes to more than £36bn a year.

Early advertisements concentrated on explaining to the British public how a credit card worked using the line "You can buy almost anything with a Barclaycard". One of the first,



High interest: Rowan Atkinson as the bumbling spy in one of Barclaycard's adverts

called "Travelling Light", featured a girl with a Barclaycard tucked in her bikini bottom shocking passers-by as she walks down a busy shopping street.

Barclays was not challenged until NatWest, Midland, Lloyds and Glynn (now Royal Bank of Scotland) got together to form Access after six years. Five years later the "flexible friend" slogan was created.

Barclaycard remains Britain's biggest credit-card issuer with over 9 million cards, followed by NatWest and the TSB. Now £1.137 is spent every second with a credit card – 12p of every pound spent at high-street retailers.

Credit-card usage is recovering after a dip in the early Nineties as the recession bit. Payment volumes rose by 9 per

cent in 1994, the largest increase since 1988. It is forecast that there will be 1.2 billion credit card transactions by 2000. Competition is hotting up, as more companies enter the market with the "no frills" card – low interest rate, no annual fee.

While the major banks offer interest rates of around 20 per cent, the Royal Bank of Scotland, Save & Prosper, MBNA, Beneficial and the People's Bank of Connecticut are undercutting these by as much as 6 per cent and dropping the annual fee.

Credit cards also face competition from debit cards. These – Switch and Visa Delta – were introduced in 1988 mainly as replacements for cheques. However, the number of debit transactions overtook credit

cards for the first time in 1994 and by 2000 volumes are forecast to more than double to 1.8 billion transactions compared with 1.2 billion for credit cards. The amount spent on credit cards is still higher, however, with £43bn spent on credit a year compared with £28bn on debit cards.

Fraud is a major problem for industry, although it fell by 20 per cent between 1994 and 1995. Preventive measures have been put in place, including placing a special card verification on the magnetic stripe and educating retailers on counterfeit detection procedures.

However, despite all this, cash still accounts for well over two-thirds of all payments over £1 in value, thanks mainly to the National Lottery.

Paper shows cash the red card

CHARLES ARTHUR
Science Correspondent

The cashless, creditless society is here – at least in Swindon. A year ago a copy of the *Swindon Evening Advertiser* was bought using a Mondex "electronic purse", launching an experiment which has so far run for a year and seen more than £250,000 change hands electronically.

The idea of electronic cash, which can be stored on credit-sized cards, has been an attractive one to banks and some retailers for years. It would end the problem of counting piles of notes and coins, and of physically transporting them from place to place – both processes which tempt mistakes, fraud and crime.

But there is a snag: all the signs are that people are unwilling to give up cash. After all, giving a friend £5 is simple with cash; you hand them a piece of paper. With electronic cash, you both need the electronic purses, and also some means of transferring a sum between the two. The sheer capital investment required would never be justified.

However, stored value cards could find one niche. Buying items on the Internet requires the purchaser to send their credit card number to the company – which can be abused by unscrupulous companies or hackers. If the deal could be made by sending the "money"

over the computer network, the risk of purchasing would be lessened – and the vendor would have the money at once. Some see this as the likeliest future for electronic cash.

Electronic cash can be stored as streams of 1s and 0s, held in an encrypted form in the memory of a computer chip mounted on the card. The memory can contain any amount of money. A swipe reader – like those now used for credit and debit cards – is used to transfer "money" (or, in the jargon of the growing industry, "stored value") to or from the card.

Furthermore, money in this form can be sent down a telephone line, meaning that to recharge your electronic purse you would not have to find a bank cash machine. You could even withdraw or deposit funds through a mobile phone.

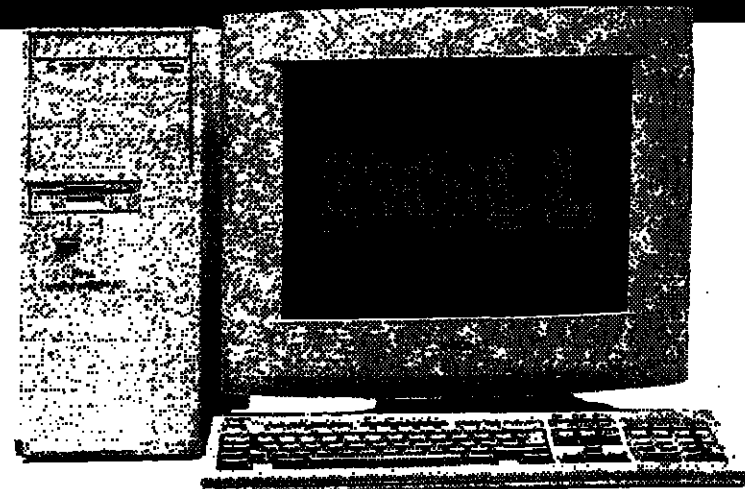
The problem facing Mondex (a consortium of banks and telecom companies) and Visa, the credit card giant (which is talking to the Barclays, Lloyds and Abbey National banks and the Halifax building society about introducing rival "electronic purses") is that they cannot be sure how keen people are to live in a cashless world.

After all, debit cards such as Switch, Connect and Delta perform the same function. The cashless equivalent only becomes useful where a debit card would be too much trouble – for purchases under £10.

Relative importance of types of payment

| | Volume of transactions (millions) | % of total transactions | Value (£bn) | % of total value |
|--|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------|------------------|
| CASHLESS PAYMENTS | | | | |
| Bank cheques | 2.2 | 89 | 1,000 | 33 |
| Postal orders | 170 | 5 | 1 | Less than 1 |
| Credit card | 110 | 4 | 4 | Less than 1 |
| holders' payments | | | | |
| Paper giro payments | 300 | 9 | 80 | 2 |
| Paperless giro payments | 70 | 2 | 40 | 1 |
| Direct debits | 325 | 10 | 80 | 2 |
| Interbank transfers (cheques & bankers drafts) | 4 | Less than 1 | 4,000 | 77 |
| TOTAL CASHLESS | 3,179 | 100 | 5,205 | 100 |
| CASH PAYMENTS | 50,000-plus | | | |

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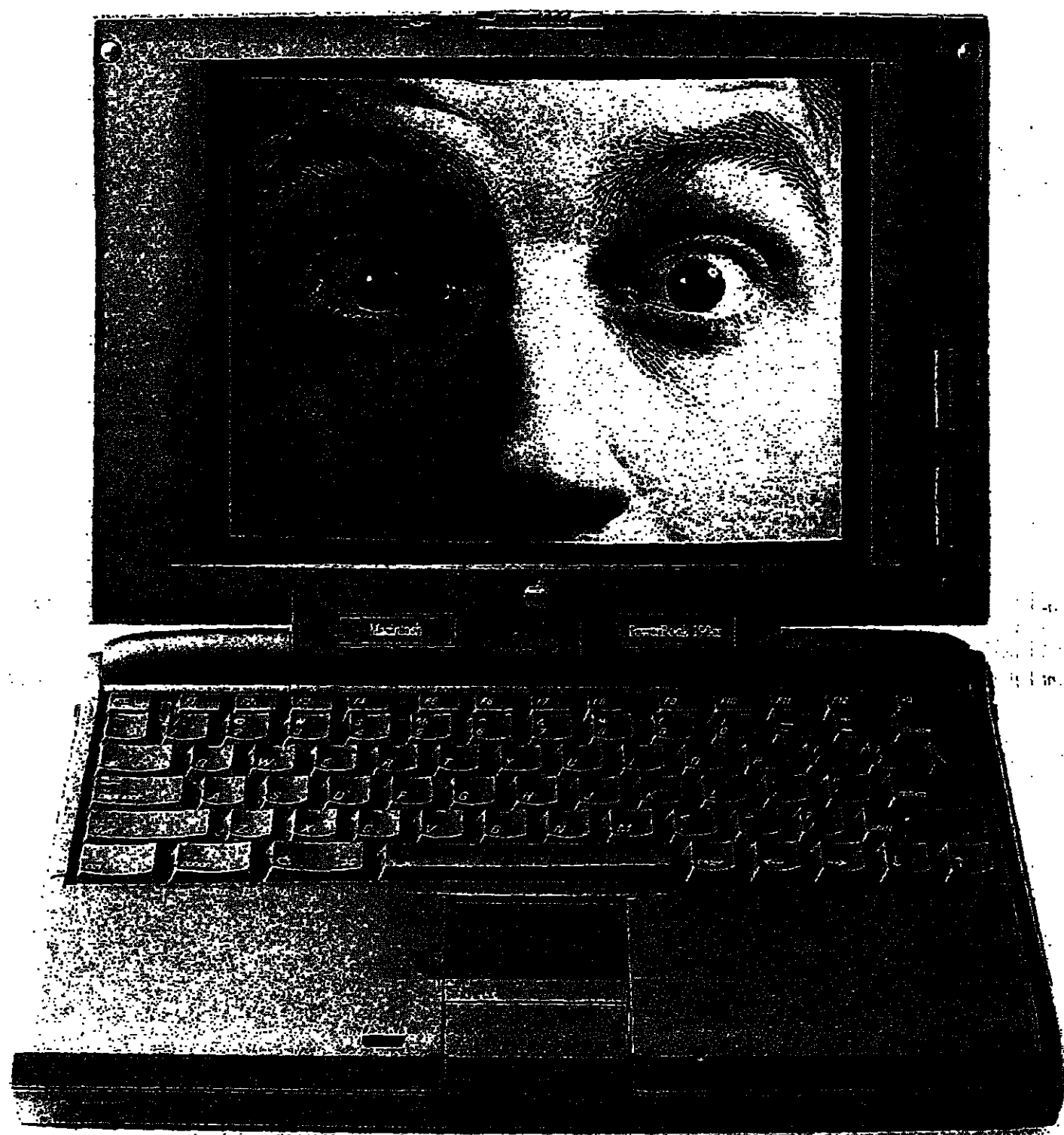
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*With average contents of 3 kilobytes per page, a PowerBook 190 can hold up to 100,000 pages of text. If you have access to the Internet, you can find out more about Apple products at: <http://www.euro.apple.com/uk>

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ST. JOSEPH'S
HOSPICE

Police to charge for burglar alarm calls

JASON BENNETTO
Crime Correspondent

The police are to charge up to £35 for answering burglar alarm calls to more than 800,000 homes and businesses, under proposals drawn up by chief constables.

They are also considering demanding an extra fee of between £50 and £100 to respond to alarms that have been blacklisted by the police because of continued false calls out.

Although any new charges will be made to the alarm companies these will be passed on to homeowners and businesses.

The extra cost in England and Wales could be more than £200. Police chiefs are determined to levy charges for "remote signalling alarms" which are connected to their stations because the cost and time spent on answering calls, most of them false, is rapidly rising.

Last year the number of signalling alarms increased by 9 per cent to about 800,000. Of the 1.2 million call-outs 1.1 million proved to be false.

The police also believe they are providing the security industry with a commercial service free of charge. However the association that represents alarm manufacturers and installers, yesterday threatened to take legal action if costs were foisted on them without agreement.

A working party for the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) has been looking at the issue for the past 18 months and has recently formulated two main options they plan to introduce by the end of the year.

At present almost all signalling alarms - as opposed to devices that simply make a noise - are connected via a telephone system to central monitoring stations owned by the security in-

stallers. When the alarm is triggered the company makes checks before telephoning the police. Each alarm holder has its own dedicated reference number, provided by the police.

The police provide this service free, but they are now arguing that supplying a reference number and giving installers priority treatment are extra facilities and should be paid for.

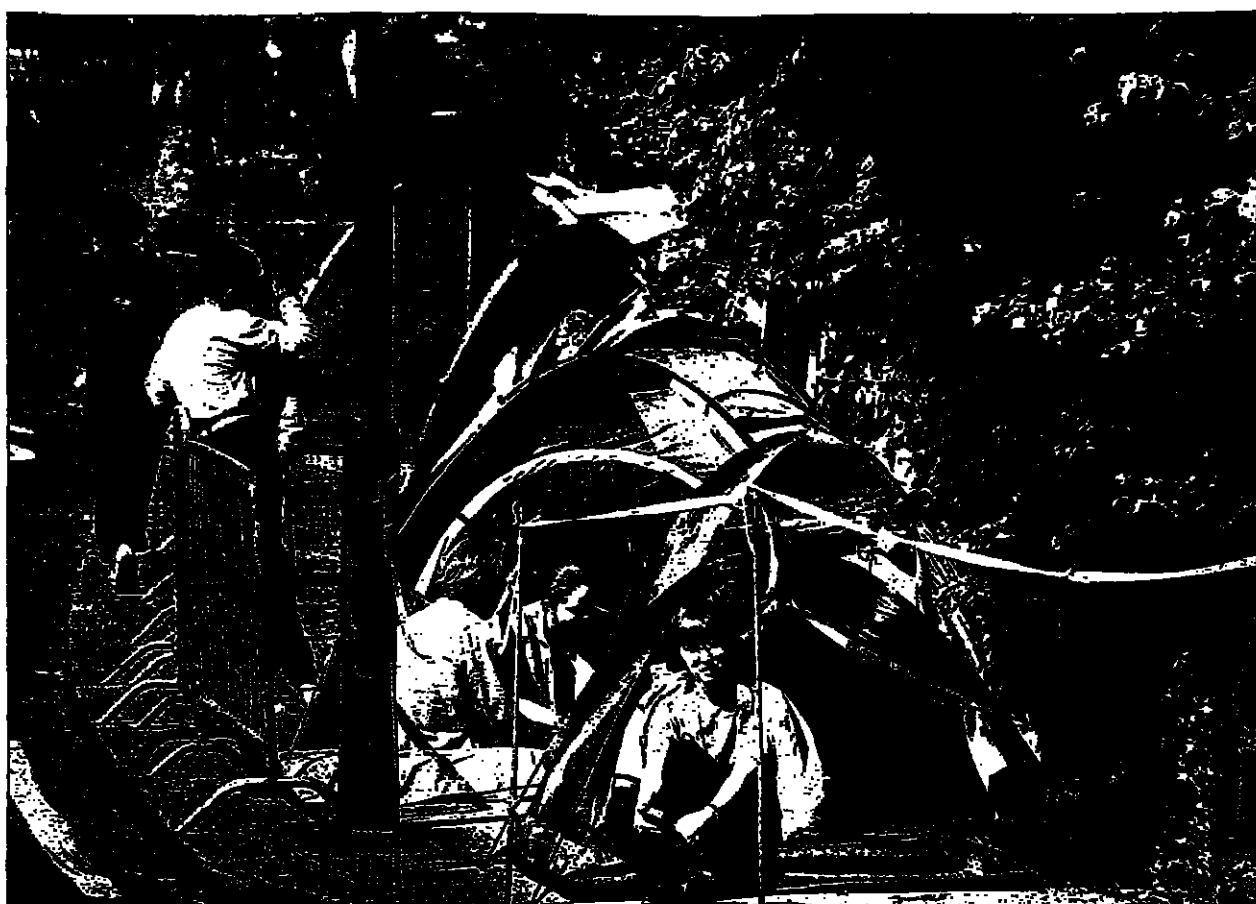
The police working party's main proposal is for companies to pay for each line. According to the British Security Industry Association the cost has been put at a few pounds to £35 a number. The police and security industry admit that any extra fees will be passed onto the consumer.

The second proposal is for a charge to be made for each call-out when a householder or businessperson has failed to mend an alarm which repeatedly malfunctions. The BSI said proposals range from £50 to £100 a call.

In April police forces in England and Wales introduced a National Alarm Policy under which anyone who has more than seven false call-outs goes on a blacklist until the equipment has been fixed. People on the blacklist are the ones likely to be charged extra. Under the new policy those with four to seven false alarms go on a "second division" list and are dealt with after all other priority calls.

Alan McInnes, secretary of ACPO's intruder alarm working party said: "The police have limited resources and we want to ensure we are providing the best service for the whole of society."

"We cannot charge for attending burglar alarm calls, but we are examining with the security industry how we can apply charges for the special administrative functions that we currently carry out. These are services that the rest of the population do not enjoy."



Dedication: Tennis fans camping out at Wimbledon, south-west London, yesterday in the hope of being able to buy tickets to see the first games of the two-week tournament, which opens today
Photograph: Edward Sykes

IRA cache find raises fears of bomb campaign

ALAN MURDOCH
Dublin

The weekend discovery of 30 kilos of Semtex and an arsenal of other bomb-making equipment in an underground bunker on an Irish farm has reinforced Dublin fears that the IRA has returned to a sustained campaign of violence.

In personnel terms the raid last Thursday that led to the arsenal find on the farm near Clonsilla in Co Laois was a serious blow to the IRA. Two senior members in its Southern Command were caught making mortar bombs. One is a quartermaster, the other an engineering expert.

The huge haul was a triumph for gardai, their biggest breakthrough against IRA logistics operations for three years. The 14ft by 8ft bunker, which served as a terrorist warehouse, was found at the end of a tunnel leading from a concealed entrance in a garden.

The bunker yielded the full range of explosives components: 40 mortar tubes, Semtex, large amounts of ammonia and nitrate used in home-made explosive, along with switches, timers, detonators, guns, tail fins and other mortar parts.

On Thursday 16 mortars were found in a ground level workshop. Detectives believe the farm may have been manufacturing bombs for another "spectacular" in Britain.

Three Dublin men each faced two charges in Dublin's anti-terrorist Special Criminal Court late on Friday of having mortars illegally and with intent

to endanger life. John Conaty, 35, from Balbutcher Park, Ballymun; Gabriel Cleary, 52, from Friarstown, Tallaght; and Bryan McNally, 54, from Knocksinna Park, Foxrock, were remanded in custody until tomorrow.

A fourth man, Michael Cully, 46, of Clonsilla, Co Laois, was remanded on Saturday, charged with possession of 30 kilos of Semtex explosive with intent to endanger life.

The Taoiseach, John Bruton, again appealed for a new IRA ceasefire yesterday but warned that after the Manchester bombing, the Adare murder of a garda detective and the Laois bomb factory find, any cessation "would have to be really convincing... not a tactical matter, but involving a genuine, permanent and irrevocable commitment to peace."

Privately Irish Government sources are pessimistic about the chances of a new ceasefire and angry that they were apparently misled by Sinn Féin leaders who indicated a new ceasefire could be achieved if a date for all-party talks was set and former US Senator George Mitchell installed as chairman.

Dublin ministers feel let down that, after exerting enormous pressure on London, including at one stage walking out of Anglo-Irish negotiations, the promised co-operation never materialised.

Asked if Sinn Féin leaders had simply been refused a ceasefire by the IRA, one Dublin source said it was believed "they are not willing to ask in case the request is refused".

Health insurer to buy care

NICHOLAS TIMMINS
Public Policy Editor

Private health care is about to undergo many of the revolutionary changes that the NHS has seen, PPP Britain's second biggest health insurer has warned.

The changes are essential to the continued survival and growth of private health care where too many hospitals are chasing too few patients and charging unacceptably high prices, Dr Harry McNeilly, PPP's medical director said.

At the same time, doctors working in the private sector do not face the same checks on their clinical skills and practice that they face when working in the NHS, Dr McNeilly said - an

omission which raises issues about the quality of care in private hospitals.

To achieve the change, PPP is planning to turn itself from a medical insurer which reimburses claims, to an active purchaser of health care, operating more like a health authority or GP fundholder.

Over the coming months, PPP is to set up a "preferred provider" network, contracting with perhaps only 150 out of the 300 or so private hospitals and NHS pay bed units, to provide care for its members.

The move could mean closure for those units and private hospitals which fail to obtain "preferred provider" status. The result should be "higher quality and lower prices" for private patients, Dr McNeilly said.

Too many hospitals were chasing too few patients, he said. Bed occupancy is running at an average of only 50 per cent in private hospitals, producing "unacceptably high" prices.

Market forces cannot cut costs because private patients do not choose their hospital on the basis of cost. They are referred to a specialist by a GP.

In the private sector, Dr McNeilly said, clinical practice remains "very much the province of the individual medical specialist" who is not subject to the audit of results that is becoming commonplace in the NHS. That meant too high a rate of "inappropriate intervention and use of diagnostic services" and raised issues about the quality of care.

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news

Siberian 'magic' that can mend a club foot

Surgeons in Britain have been pioneering a radical technique to correct club foot in babies and make dwarfs walk taller, some 50 years after the procedure was developed in Stalinist Russia.

The treatment involves breaking legs, embedding steel pins deep into the flesh and bone and fixing a circular frame onto the patient which looks as if it comes from a Meccano set.

Invented by a Siberian doctor called Gavril Ilizarov to repair the broken limbs of soldiers wounded at the end of the Second World War, the procedure was hidden from the West until the fall of the Iron Curtain.

The technique has been developed in Britain by Rowan Pool and Robert Simonis, consultant orthopaedic surgeons at St Peter's hospital in Chertsey. They have treated around 500 people at their Ilizarov clinic - 25 of them for club foot - since

Surgeons pioneer technique hidden for 50 years, Paul Field reports

they first tried it in 1988.

One of the most recent success stories in Britain, which is the focus of the BBC1 science series *QED* on Thursday, is William Knight, who became the youngest person to have the operation at six months old after being born with club foot.

"He looked perfect until a nurse told us she suspected club foot," said his mother Madeleine. Within three days, she and her husband Alan had an appointment at the Ilizarov clinic and were surprised by the possibilities offered by the individually fitted frame, which costs around £1,000 a time. After discussions, the Knights went ahead with the treatment, but not without reservations.

"It was either the frame or an operation snipping the tendons and stretching the foot into position with a failure rate and scar tissue problems. When we were shown the frame and told about drilling pins into his leg we did feel rather wobbly," Mrs Knight explained.

Apart from correcting club foot, particularly in children, the treatment is used to repair fractures which fail to knit together normally and would otherwise lead to a life long disability, make short people taller and treat bone infections - such as osteomyelitis.

"I cannot get over the fact that I set out to treat a bent leg and the patient comes back after six weeks with it straightened," said Mr Pool. The technique was developed when,

trying to find a way to mend broken bones, Ilizarov, a doctor in a Siberian hospital on his first posting at the end of the war, came up with the idea of putting a frame onto the damaged leg. Using a bicycle wheel and spokes he found it held the broken bone together.

It was only when a patient, intending to tighten the rods, turned the spanner the wrong way, that Ilizarov - who moonlighted as a conjuror and became known as the Magician of Kurgan - discovered that once the bones were pulled apart, new tissue grew in the gap. He then adapted the procedure and used it to lengthen legs and correct club foot.

But before Glasnost, any exchange of ideas with the West was forbidden. It took Communism's collapse to allow medical advances like the Ilizarov frame to be disseminated.



Best foot forward: William, now 15 months, joined by his mother Madeleine, father Alan and sister Katie, proudly shows off his scarred left leg, which for 11 weeks was in the 'Meccano' frame, as pictured below. Main Photograph: Tony Buckingham

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'There's no stopping my little boy now'

The metal rods drilled into William's lower left leg and ankle, combined with the frame bolted to them, made it almost impossible for the Knights to share a cuddle with their young son. Of more concern though, were the screams William would give if he caught the frame on furniture and the open wounds that often became infected and painful.

But after 11 weeks - to great

relief - the frame was removed and his leg put into plaster. "The leg was very sensitive for a couple of weeks, but soon improved and on his first birthday William took his first steps. I burst into tears. After that there was no stopping him," said Mrs Knight.

William, now 15 months, may need further surgery, thanks to a Siberian magician, should always lead a normal life.

DAILY POEM

Sometimes

By Sheenagh Pugh

Sometimes things don't go, after all, from bad to worse. Some years, muscadel faces down frost; green thrives; the crops don't fail, sometimes a man aims high, and all goes well.

A people sometimes will step back from war; elect an honest man; decide they care enough, that they can't leave some stranger poor. Some men become what they were born for.

Sometimes our best efforts do not go awry; sometimes we do as we meant to. The sun will sometimes melt a field of sorrow that seemed frozen: may it happen for you.

Sheenagh Pugh was born in 1950 and lectures at the University of Glamorgan. She has published seven collections of poetry with Seren, the small Welsh press founded in the early 1980s, with the help and encouragement of Dannie Absie, to give voice to English-language writers in Wales. Seren has just published a 15th anniversary issue of its poets and poetry, *Burning the Bracken*, in which this appears.

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news

Term-time clash: New study says desire for good times, not financial hardship, is causing dramatic rise in part-time work

Students 'choose jobs over classes'

Increasing numbers of students are under-performing academically because they have part-time jobs during term time. However, according to a senior academic at the London School of Economics (LSE), they spend their earnings not on the basic necessities of food and rent but on "luxury items" such as £70 trainers and alcohol.

The National Union of Students (NUS), which found in a survey last year that students in higher education were taking up part-time work and damaging their studies in the process, is angered by Dr Catherine Hakim's suggestion that the reason for this is not financial hardship.

Dr Hakim, who enraged feminist academics earlier this year with her claim that women were still happy for their place to be in the home, publishes her research on students and employment today, just days after the LSE became the first higher education establishment to announce that it agreed in principle to increase student fees following government grant cuts.

The number of British students with part-time jobs has doubled over the last decade, she says. Between 1984 and 1994 those with part-time jobs jumped from 343,000 to 671,000 and from 7 per cent to 11 per cent of the workforce. She ar-

gues that the main reason for this dramatic rise is not financial, but social and cultural.

Her findings are the result of a two-year study, funded by the Economic and Social Research Council and based on an analysis of the 1991 Population Census results and the Labour Force Survey for 1984-1994. The jobs were mainly in catering, sales and other service jobs such as cleaners and shelf-fillers in supermarkets. They were typically eight hours a week, earning £3-4 an hour.

Reports: Clare Garner

White students, she reports, are almost twice as likely as those from ethnic minorities, particularly Chinese and Asian, to undertake paid work while in full-time education. From the fact that 79 per cent of non-white students have never held a job compared with 65 per cent of white students, and only 4 per cent of ethnic minority students had a current job compared with 24 per cent of white students, she concludes that working students are not more likely to come from poorer families.

Rather, she argues, any differences must lie in their attitudes to work, money and

education. "Ethnic minority groups generally are less well off than the dominant white community, yet they are more likely to ensure that their children devote themselves exclusively to their studies," she writes. "Separate cultures which protect them to some degree from the dominant white consumer culture probably helps in this process."

Dr Hakim interprets the rising workrates among young people of 16-18 at secondary schools and in higher education as further evidence that the "new trend" has caused "far wider than a simple reduction in student grant."

Commenting on her paper, she said: "It is quite clear that some people accept that you live in reduced circumstances while you are a student while others don't accept the view of a slightly ascetic life... The quantity of money that passes the bar never ceases to amaze me. Asians drink far less. Chinese drink far less. It's directly relevant to the cultural argument."

The NUS said: "We dispute any suggestion that students don't go out to work from financial necessity. Our survey clearly shows that in so many cases students are going out to work just to pay the rent. Often students are working just to eat."



The happy worker: Annika Bosanquet has worked a part-time job an average of 11 hours a week throughout her time at the LSE, and says it has helped rather than hindered her academic work. Photograph: Edward Sykes

Help rather than a hindrance

TIME JOB

Annika Bosanquet, 22, has worked an average of 11 hours a week for £4.21 an hour throughout her time as an anthropology undergraduate at the LSE.

Tipped for a 2:1 degree, Annika, from Newcastle, feels her part-time jobs in the student union helped, rather than hindered, her academic work. "If you do something totally different it fuels your studies."

Her parents give her £500 a month to cover £65-a-week rent plus living costs; the £35 wages supplement her social life and clothes budget. "I'm quite a picky shopper," she said. "I spend a lot of money on one piece and make it last. We're making designer clothes - in the sale."

In her final year, her earnings went towards going out rather than clothes. "I think that because I'm in London and there's so much to do I should take advantage of it," she explained.

"A lot of people I know have a couple of really big nights out in the week which would cost them £60 a night. I prefer to have quite a few nights out and not spend that much but once every couple of months I'll go out for a big night. That means going out for a drink and a meal, a taxi fare, the entrance fee to a club, and drinks when you are in there. If you're buying something new as well, it's £100."

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Keeping worry to a minimum

To Mankash Jain, a second-year management student at the LSE, working and studying are "two totally different things". His parents go to great lengths to ensure he never has to take a part-time job which, they believe, would conflict with his degree.

"It's not the same as spoon-feeding or cushioning. It's making sure I don't have anything to worry about except for the work," said Mankash, 22, from Birmingham, whose parents pay his £70-a-week rent plus a weekly living allowance of £60.

"Asians place much more emphasis on learning. I was brought up with the idea that if you go to university you should concentrate and direct your attention to studying. It's the mentality that you're at uni-

versity to work and if you do work properly you will get a better job and that will pay dividends later on."

Another reason Mankash, is "in pocket," he says, is that he doesn't drink much. "I do drink, but not on a regular basis. It's the way I've been brought up. None of my family drinks. The majority of students' money is spent on drink. Some people can easily spend up to £200 in a week."

Mankash has never run into debt or taken out a student loan. "I'm a lot more careful with my money. White students seem to spend a lot of money on drink and be a lot more carefree. I'm not saying it's wrong or anything. There's just a distinction."



Parents help: Mankash Jain is free to concentrate

Hunger hinders pupils

FRAN ABRAMS
Education Correspondent

As many as 1 in 10 pupils goes to school without breakfast, according to a survey by a nutritionist from King's College, London. The study of 250 children aged between 10 and 13 found that almost one-third of those who had had no breakfast felt tired at school and a quarter did not want to work at all.

The findings by Dr Anthony Leeds confirm teachers' long-held suspicions that children who are hungry perform less well academically. Staffroom anecdotes also suggest that pupils are unmanageable after eating lunches with high contents of fat and additives.

Dr Leeds' preliminary findings are based on a questionnaire answered by pupils in

primary and secondary schools in Hertfordshire and Devon. He hopes to conduct a full study of 10,000 children later this year.

Some nutritionists have suggested that glucose levels regulate brain functions, including memory and learning. They say children's ability to recall and use new information, verbal fluency and attention span can be affected if they have eaten nothing since the night before and their glucose levels are low.

Academics in Denmark have shown in a controlled study that children who eat a good breakfast make fewer mistakes in addition tests. They have also found that those who have eaten find it easier to remember things quickly and accurately.

Dr Leeds stressed that his findings were preliminary and that more work was needed be-

fore they could be confirmed, but added that schools should consider offering breakfast to pupils. Increased parental choice might have led to pupils travelling to schools further from home, he said, and some might arrive hungry even if they had eaten before they left.

"There is evidence that whether or not children have had breakfast does affect things like concentration and to some extent behaviour," he said.

Nutritionists recommend that children should always have something to eat before leaving home in the morning, such as cereal, fruit, fruit juice or wholemeal toast. Some schools in Britain already offer breakfast to pupils, and in the United States one-fifth of children eat breakfast at school each day.

Access visits put mothers at risk of men's violence

GLENDIA COOPER

Controversial proposals to bar violent fathers from seeing their children are put forward in a study published today as social scientists warn that men who have subjected their partners to domestic violence can use contact with their children to keep harming the women.

But probation officers and a charity supporting fathers warned that the study focused on a very narrow group and to deny contact across the board was "a recipe for disaster".

Children are suffering abuse and emotional distress as a result of enforced visits to violent fathers, according to the report supported by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, which criticises some professionals for allowing contact with fathers to take precedence over the safety and welfare of children.

A study of 53 women and 77 professionals in England over two years, suggested that mothers were under pressure to agree to unsafe arrangements rather than be viewed as "hostile" or "unreasonable" by the

courts. The mothers, who had all experienced domestic violence, were contacted through referees, professionals and support groups. All but three said they had been assaulted by ex-partners when taking or collecting children from visits.

Most had at first wanted their children to go on seeing their ex-partners, with some feeling contact was one way of ensuring that fathers took some responsibility for their offspring. A few still considered their former partner was a "good father".

However, in cases where contact led to renewed threats and violence women had found it difficult to convince the courts that there were good reasons for ending the arrangements. And rather than taking children's objections to seeing their father at face value, lawyers and court welfare officers often interpreted them as the result of emotional pressure from the mothers.

"Cara" left her husband in 1988 after seven years of abuse but contact with the children was maintained, despite threats of violence to her. "I wanted them to have good access, you

know like quality contact," she said. "But he was drunk all the time and... he used to say to the kids 'I'm going to cut your mother's throat' and you know he was really warped."

Mothers also reported difficulty in satisfying the courts that child abuse or neglect had taken place. Symptoms such as anxiety, bedwetting or vomiting were liable to be viewed as the consequences of separation rather than abusive contact with their fathers.

But Bruce Lidington, chairman of the charity Families Need Fathers said: "Where there is a genuine threat to the mother we obviously would not wish to stand in the way of proper protection. But... what is being overlooked is the context overall where a lot of false allegations are made... Our worry is that if there is an allegation of violence the presumption is there should be no contact at all which is a recipe for disaster." Domestic Violence and Child Contact in England and Denmark: The Policy Press, Rodney Lodge, Grange Road, Bristol, BS8 4EA; £11.95

Papa

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سكيا بن الامال

Papandreou's death proves pure politics

ANDREW GUMBEL

In Greece, people had begun to wonder if Andreas Papandreou would ever die. After all, his lungs, kidneys and other vital organs had weathered the kind of battering that would have long ago finished off a thousand ordinary mortals.

He had confounded medical opinion by walking out of hospital and returning home after four months hooked up to life-support machines. He had even begun to hold political meetings again.

In the end, though, it was his heart that proved his final undoing. The troubles of his heart that caused him to undergo a massive bypass operation in England eight years ago. In the early hours of yesterday, Mr Papandreou suffered a cardiac seizure at the grand suburban villa he had built with his glamorous wife Mimi, and despite attempts by his in-house team of medical experts to resuscitate him, he never regained consciousness. He was 77.

Mr Papandreou approached death the same way he had undertaken his long, bruising career in politics: fighting and scheming every inch of the way. "My only remaining ambition," he had been quoted as saying in January, when he was talked into standing down as prime minister because of his deteriorating health, "is to make life hell for my successor."

His successor turned out to be Costas Simitis, one of his most ardent critics within the ruling party, Pasok, and Mr Papandreou proved as good as his word.

Even before yesterday, the old man had been casting a disruptive shadow over a special party congress called to carve up the power he once wielded with undisputed authority. Even at this late stage, he had been opposing Mr Simitis tooth and nail; now his awkwardly timed



Final act: Papandreou's widow Mimi (right) arriving at Athens Cathedral where the body of her husband (left) is to lie in state until his funeral on Wednesday

Photographs: Reuters

death will loom large over congress proceedings this week. Such uncanny abilities to influence public events will come as no surprise to anyone who has followed the highs and lows of Mr Papandreou's astonishing career. Politics was everything to him, and the line between his public and private lives was virtually non-existent, as his catalogue of love affairs, personal scandals and medical traumas showed. In the closing stages of his life, he excelled

even himself in his ability to turn his most intimate struggles into grand political theatre.

When he was first admitted to Athens' exclusive Onassis Clinic last November, he managed to focus the attention of the country on his bedside, bringing all normal political business to a grinding halt and transforming Greek public life into a giant medical soap opera. His wives, past and present, bickered and fought, his doctors squabbled about his prognosis,

and his associates battled surreptitiously for his succession.

In January, when it became clear even to him that there was no point pretending he could still run the country, he provoked a massive showdown between the loyalists in his party, led by his faithful if unimpressive lieutenant Akis Tsochopoulos, and the hardy band of dissident reformers led by Mr Simitis.

Mr Simitis emerged victorious from the first round of the

battle, as the parliamentary party narrowly endorsed his internationalist, pro-European vision and chose him to take over as premier. But his government has had to operate in an atmosphere of almost total warfare within Pasok as the issue of the party leadership has loomed.

Originally, the idea was that Mr Papandreou would stay on as party president, albeit in a mainly honorary capacity, leaving Mr Simitis and Mr Tsochopoulos to slug it out for the new post of vice-president. In theory, Mr Simitis should have been the clear favourite, since Pasok has little to gain from damaging splits between the government and the party leadership in a pre-election year.

But Pasok is not a rational party at the best of times, and the power struggle has caused the country to grind to a halt of its periodic halts. The Papandreou factor has been particularly pernicious: news

of pro-Tsochopoulos politicians tramping off to their ailing mentor's villa for meetings may have boosted their cause, but it also turned the political climate to pure poison.

It is hard to predict the precise effect of Mr Papandreou's death. We can expect several days of emotional tributes to Greece's first left-wing premier and outpourings of grief. No doubt Mimi will play the distraught widow at Wednesday's funeral in Athens with the same

melodramatic passion she brought to her previous roles in Mr Papandreou's life, first as his scapegoat mistress and then as his devoted and loving wife.

And that? Mr Tsochopoulos will hope the passing of a national icon can help his cause. Mr Simitis, meanwhile, will be praying that his old rival will not torment him from beyond the grave. Mr Papandreou may have passed on: the strength of the myth he left behind still remains to be tested.

Drugs money donated to Panama's president

PHIL DAVIDSON
Latin America Correspondent

Uncannily mirroring the situation in neighbouring Colombia, Panama's President Ernesto Perez Balladarez admitted yesterday that his 1994 election campaign had received funding from Colombia's Cali cocaine cartel.

Mr Perez Balladarez said an internal audit of campaign records revealed he had "unwittingly" received \$51,000 (£33,000) from a company headed by Colombian drug lord Jose Castrillon Henao. Castrillon was recently jailed in Panama on charges that he headed the Cali cartel's sea-going cocaine exports to the US.

Ernesto Samper, president of Colombia, was cleared last week by parliament, which has party controls, of knowingly accepting Cali cartel cash for his 1994 campaign. Prosecutors insist, however, that several million dollars of drug money did help fund his campaign, whether Mr Samper knew it or not.

Although the amount admitted by Mr Perez Balladarez was a small percentage of his campaign funds, his admission

was seen as highly significant and possibly aimed at heading off increasing reports that his government was and is tainted by Colombian drug money.

US officials had expressed concern over the reports, not least in the light of the fact that American troops are due to leave Panama at the end of 1999. On the last day of that year, Panama is due to take control of the Panama Canal from the US, which has controlled since the start of the century.

Mr Perez Balladarez was a long-time friend and aide of Manuel Antonio Noriega, the army general who ruled Panama until the US, under President George Bush, ousted him by invading in 1989. Many Panamanians who despised General Noriega were surprised at Mr Perez Balladarez's election victory two years ago at the head of the Democratic Revolutionary Party, which Gen Noriega always supported.

The President's admission was apparently the direct result of a recent report in *The Economist* which hinted that his government was tainted by Colombian drug money. Government sources said Mr Perez

Balladarez had ordered the audit of his campaign funding because he was planning to sue the British magazine. Instead, he will drop the suit, the sources said.

Mr Perez Balladarez said the audit had turned up two cheques, endorsed by him, from a company believed to have been owned by Mr Castrillon. He said he could not remember endorsing them and had no idea at the time that Mr Castrillon was involved in trafficking drugs.

Mr Castrillon operated a tuna-fishing fleet in Panama until he was arrested on 16 April. Prosecutors say the fleet was a cover for the Cali cartel's sea-going cocaine exports to the US, worth billions of dollars. He is in jail awaiting trial.

"This is the first time, perhaps in my life, that I have to swallow my words," Mr Perez Balladarez said. "I am a proud person. It hurts that there was this type of money in my campaign. I have nothing to hide."

He said that his campaign records would be made available to the Attorney-General for "an urgent and exhaustive investigation."

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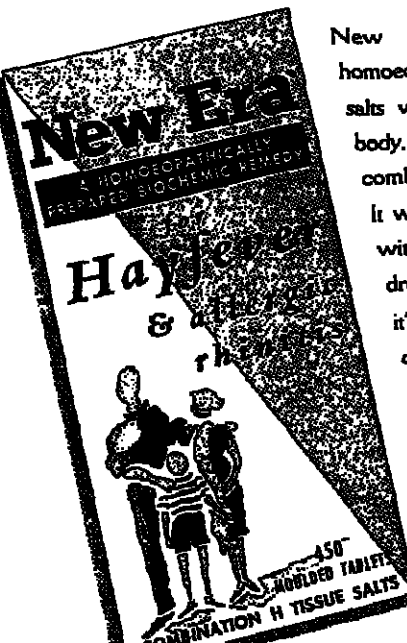
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Cairo summit: Leaders fear Oslo accord is dissolving in face of Netanyahu's intransigence

Disunited Arab chiefs cling to 'land for peace'

ROBERT FISK
Cairo

No words, it seems, can sum up the hypocrisy that now surrounds the ashes of the Middle East "peace process".

There were the Arabs at their Cairo summit yesterday, solemnly pleading for a continuation of the American-brokered land-for-peace "process" and warning that they might have second thoughts if Israel did not honour its commitments. And there were the Israelis, whose new Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, has already vetoed the agreed land-for-peace formula, claiming that the Arab summit's final communiqué represented a threat to peace.

"For the process to continue successfully and productively this threat [to Israeli security] must be removed," Mr Netanyahu said in a prepared speech. "This is the most elementary, fundamental requirement for talks about coexistence and peace." He went on to say that the peace process "cannot be made hostage to other prior conditions" — a reference to the Arab demands that the new government agree to trade more land for peace.

What the Cairo communiqué actually said was that the Arabs remained committed to the process of peace on which they had embarked at Madrid in 1991: total Israeli withdrawal for total peace based on UN Security Council resolutions 242, 338 and 425, along with an end to Jewish settlements on Arab land and a "just and comprehensive peace" that would give Palestinians a state and a capital in Jerusalem. The Arabs "would have to reconsider their steps towards Israel in the framework of the peace process" if there was any Israeli abandonment of commitments.

"What do you expect Arabs to do? What do you expect Palestinians to do?" an exasperated President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt said after the summit ended. "Much more violence? Much more terrorism?"

The truth, as many Arab journalists were quick to point out in private, is that the Arab nations (all, apparently, bar Jordan) believe that the five years of negotiations with Israel and the Oslo agreement are dissolving in the heat generated by Mr Netanyahu's three "Nos" —

no to a withdrawal from Golan, no to a Palestinian state and no to a Palestinian capital in east Jerusalem. We still want peace, the Arabs were saying yesterday, but do not blame us when the pot boils over.

They will be blamed, but that is another story. What mattered yesterday was the text of their final communiqué and the long, sometimes furious arguments which produced it. None of them objected to the prelude, which called upon the rest of the world to ensure Israel kept to its side of the bargain; there was much talk of commitments, agreements, vows and "international legality" — the latter to prevent the construction of yet more Jewish settlements on Arab land. Then came the para-



President Assad: Angered by King Hussein's attack

graphs which proved how disunited the Arabs still are.

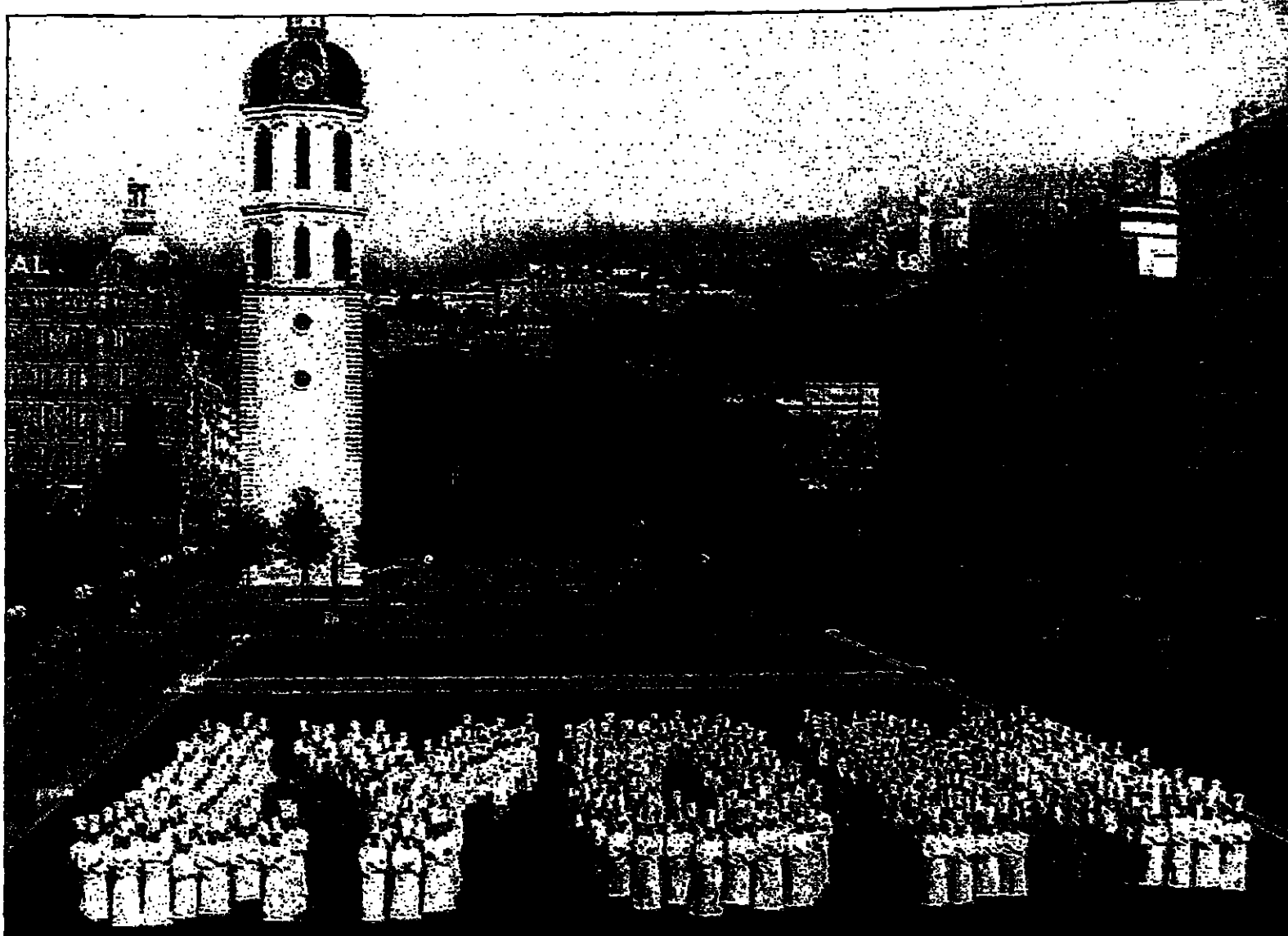
King Hussein of Jordan had given an address of such fury that other delegates dubbed it "Netanyahu's speech"; he attacked "terrorism" in all its forms, adding — in a clear attack on Syria — that "we must confront the problem of cross-border terrorism, through condemnation, pursuit, and through the liquidation of pockets of terrorism, wherever their dens may be ... and whoever may be their organisers or victims". Jordan says Syria tried to send saboteurs across the Jordanian-Syrian border and sympathised with Turkey's complaints of Syrian support for Kurdish guerrillas. But the King's words also appeared to condone Israel's April assault on Hizbollah guerrillas which led to the massacre at Qana.

The Syrians were incensed, and their Foreign Minister, Farouk al-Sharh, bitterly condemned the King's speech in a private talk later with his Jordanian opposite number.

But when the King and President Hafez al-Assad of Syria later met alone Mr Assad apparently persuaded King Hussein that it was more important to present a united front to Israel's new government than give Israel ammunition to attack an Arab neighbour. This led to the communiqué's statement that "while the Arab leaders condemn attempts to label legitimate national resistors terrorists, they condemn all kinds of terrorist and destructive acts ... and express support ... for efforts to hold an international conference on terrorism".

Attempts by King Hussein to rouse the Gulf Arabs against Iran — and thus indirectly against Iran's Syrian ally — were softened to say that "Iran should respect the sovereignty of Bahrain and stop any destructive acts aimed at Bahrain" and should end its occupation of three Emirates islands, Syria, which wanted a condemnation of Turkey, not only for its new military agreement with Israel but for its tampering with the waters of the Euphrates, had to be satisfied with an expression of "concern" about the Turkish-Israeli pact and a hopeless request to Turkey to "reconsider" its new agreement "so as not to affect the security of Arab states".

Having largely got what he wanted in the communiqué, President Assad chose not to say a word at the summit. But President Mubarak expressed his delight at what he considered a Jordanian-Syrian rapprochement and an invitation to Arafat by Mr Assad to visit Damascus, a meeting of advantage to both sides. Saddam Hussein got short shrift. The Saudis included their wish for the future unity of Iraq — they do not want a new Shia state on their northern frontier — and the Kuwaitis won a demand for full Iraqi compliance with the UN and the return of all Kuwaiti prisoners from Iraq. But it was Colonel Muammar Gaddafi who made the most pertinent if ironic remark about Mr Netanyahu at the summit's end: "We should thank him for bringing us together," he said. "Without him, there could have been no such summit."



Too many cooks? The chefs of Lyons on call for the G7 Summit being held in the city renowned for its gastronomic delights

Photograph: AFP

Lyons' lion lays out the welcome mat

Lyons — The Germans have an expression, "like God in France", to describe a state of luxurious contentment. Raymond Barre, the 72-year-old politician and academic who is experiencing a second political honeymoon as mayor of France's second city, Lyons, seems a personification of the expression just now.

This week, all being well, he will experience one of his finest hours, as host to the heads of the world's seven richest nations in the annual summit of the Group of Seven industrialised countries.

Not an overtly proud or arrogant man, Mr Barre will bask unashamedly in the glory of the occasion and plans to show off his magnificent 19th century town hall to the full. Washing and brushing have been the very least of what has been done to it in preparation. A week ago, there was still sheeting and cables all over the floors; you shared the lifts with trestles and paintpots, and the smell of varnish was everywhere.

Thursday night's opening G7 dinner, with a secret menu that will boast the quintessence of Lyons' renowned cuisine, is to be held — weather permitting — in the loggia courtyard. The three day event will be wound up with a sound and light show over the Rhone for the citizens of Lyons, to compensate them



As France's second city prepares for next week's G7 summit, Mary Dejevsky speaks to its proud mayor Raymond Barre (left)

for the inconvenience of having their city taken over by the security requirements of seven international leaders.

When you meet Mr Barre, it is evident that, one year into his mayordom, he is having a whale of a time. A former university economics professor, who has moved easily between the academic and political worlds for the best part of 40 years, he is best known for serving as Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's prime minister from 1976-81.

But he has weathered the decades better than Giscard, and so have his politics. His statements are still closely watched and widely respected. He manages to combine a free-market pro-European stance with a practical social conscience — a combination that is increasingly being accepted by governments across Europe.

Mr Barre is small and his round face and smile give a general impression of rotundity —

but he is actually quite dapper, despite his reputation as a bon vivant. He has the directness and spontaneity of someone who is at ease with himself and his authority.

Just over a year ago, Mr Barre thought he had made his exit from French politics by declining to stand for the presidency. He said at the time and still says that the only purpose of having power is to achieve objectives, and he judged that "the political and social conditions would not have allowed me to pursue the policies of reform and change that I thought necessary for the French economy". Almost as an afterthought, he adds: "And you know, I don't regret it one bit."

So why, given the standing and influence he enjoys, not just in France but in Europe, has he returned to frontline politics by standing for the post of city mayor — albeit of a city which is the second largest in France and

which prides itself on having been the capital of Roman Gaul? "I didn't really stand at all," he corrects my terminology. "A deputation of local MPs and councillors approached me and asked me whether I would head their list for the council elections. In fact, I had quite other plans."

Mr Barre was approached as someone who had been the local MP since the late Seventies and chairman of the regional council since the mid-Eighties. But their main consideration — and the reason Mr Barre agreed to their request — was the political mess in which the city of Lyons then found itself.

The high-flying incumbent mayor, Michel Noir, had just been convicted of corruption, and Lyons had some of France's toughest housing estates and social problems on its periphery which were on the brink of exploding. If the political right was to retain power and the reputation of Lyons was to be rescued, the right's candidate for mayor had to be someone who enjoyed respect, if possible, nationally and across parties.

Mr Barre's list won a first-round victory. His original plans — it transpired when I posed this "indiscreet" question — had been to retire. Now, he has another three and a half years of political struggle ahead. Mr Barre, however, seems to regard

it as a gentle and rather pleasurable form of combat — until you see him in the council chamber. Here, he rules with a rod of iron and some tart repartee. When a National Front councillor objected to the choice of music for the sound and light show as "too international" (with Bob Dylan), the mayor snapped back: "So what do you call Debussy, then?"

With the G7 summit on his doorstep (a gift from Jacques Chirac after he became president), he wants Lyons — a city regarded in France as inward-looking and hidebound despite its mercantile history — to promote itself to the outside world. "But that depends on the Lyonnais continuing the impetus," he says, adding, as though this sounds too negative, "And I believe they will."

More than 5,000 people marched through Lyons on Saturday to protest about the holding of the G7 summit in the city and to demand that "other voices" be heard. The marchers represented trade unions, groups campaigning against unemployment, racism, environmental pollution, Third World indebtedness and a host of other ills. The march was led by the dissident bishop and gay rights campaigner Jacques Gaillot, flanked by actors singing "When will the revolution come?"

Japan and Korea paper over cracks

RICHARD LLOYD PARRY
Tokyo

The weekend summit between the leaders of South Korea and Japan, hosted by President Kim Young-sam for the Japanese Prime Minister, Ryutaro Hashimoto, ended yesterday as it began, with a display of uneasy gimmickry.

When the two men had their first meeting on the Korean island of Cheju on Saturday, the gimmick was sartorial — instead of business suits and ties, the leaders wore sports jackets and open-necked shirts.

The intention was to promote a chummy, informal atmosphere. But East Asian politicians never quite cut the casual look, and the pair ended up looking more like elderly

models in a menswear catalogue.

For the closing ceremony, the diplomatic image makers had come up with a different wheeze: instead of signing a joint declaration, Mr Kim and Mr Hashimoto exchanged footballs. This was an allusion to the main topic on the agenda, the 2002 World Cup which, after a fierce bidding war, has been jointly awarded to both countries.

When the result was announced last month, sports officials and candidate cities in both countries found it difficult to hide their dismay. But both leaders put a brave face on it yesterday.

"While embracing the burden of the past," said Mr Hashimoto, "we are trying to work out

a future dream by taking advantage of the World Cup."

In the course of their talks, the two cautiously reaffirmed the standard bilateral positions on fisheries, security and North Korea. But the summit was more about avoiding controversy than beating out new policy.

"The burden of the past", for instance, is code for Japan's colonial occupation of Korea, the painful memory of which constantly dogs Seoul's relations with Tokyo. Its bitterest manifestation is the issue of the "comfort women" — Chinese, Europeans and, overwhelmingly, Koreans, 200,000 of whom were forcibly recruited into military brothels dedicated to servicing Japanese soldiers. The subject was not touched

on in the meeting between the two leaders but it inevitably arose in the post-summit press conference. "From the bottom of my heart I apologise and I am regretful," Mr Hashimoto told reporters. "At no time has women's honour and dignity been hurt more than in this case."

Such regrets have been voiced before, and the Prime Minister did not touch on the keenest controversy of the moment, the question of compensation for the 300 or so surviving women. After years of procrastination, the Japanese government has set up a private fund, which offers \$18,500 (£12,250) to each of them. Comfort women's organisations reject the sum, insisting on official compensation.

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■ Russian election: Confident of youth vote, the President targets the elderly

Buoyant Yeltsin woos war veterans

HELEN WOMACK
Moscow

Heeding the advice of his aides that he cannot afford to be complacent, Boris Yeltsin hit the campaign trail again at the weekend, seeking to build on the slight advantage he gained in the first round of the Presidential election and secure victory in the run-off.

Meanwhile his Communist opponent, Gennady Zyuganov, appearing somewhat disoriented, announced he would brief the press but not travel any more between now and 3 July, leaving grass roots activists to campaign for him in the provinces. He is talking much about coalitions, suggesting he might like a consolation place in government if he loses the presidential race.

Confident that the younger generation will support him, Mr Yeltsin, who took 36.28 per cent of the vote on 16 June, set out on his latest tour to win over people old enough to remember the Second World War and those who are still nostalgic for the Soviet Union. He went first to Brest in Belarus on Saturday for celebrations to mark the 55th anniversary of the Nazi invasion of Soviet territory.

Moscow has always made much of the anniversary of the defeat of German Fascism with parades on 9 May every year. But this was the first time there were such grand ceremonies in remembrance of the thousands who fell in the first hours of fighting because Stalin had purged the military in the 1930s and left his country unprepared for war.

In paying extra attention to the veterans, Mr Yeltsin was openly wooing the constituency of Mr Zyuganov, who won 32.04 per cent of the first round vote. Appearing alongside Alexander Lukashenko, the leader of Be-

larus, Mr Yeltsin was also putting across the message that his policy of seeking economic integration among former Soviet republics is more realistic than Communist dreams of rebuilding the Soviet Union.

Then yesterday Mr Yeltsin toured Kaliningrad, formerly Königsberg, a little enclave of Russia squeezed between Lithuania and Poland. He used the opportunity to promise glory and better conditions to naval officers in the port of Baltisk and to issue warnings to Nato not to expand eastward and to the neighbouring Baltic states to respect the human rights of their ethnic Russian majority.

Here he was targeting the constituency of retired General Alexander Lebed, who won 19 per cent support in Kaliningrad compared with the 14.52 per cent he took nationwide to come third in the first round. Mr Yeltsin has co-opted him, making him his National Security Adviser. On Saturday General Lebed sought to explain to his followers why he had abandoned his independent position and joined Mr Yeltsin. "I told Yeltsin, 'there is no reason to love you. There is not the slightest reason to love you. But you are the carrier of that idea (looking to the future, not the past) and therefore I will stand with you'."

Members of Yabloko, the party of the liberal economist, Grigory Yavlinsky, also have little love for Mr Yeltsin, largely because of the war in Chechnya. At a weekend congress they were trying to decide whether they could bring themselves to support him. Some 63 delegates said they would vote for the President, two promised their support to Mr Zyuganov and 87 decided to register a protest vote. Mr Yavlinsky himself gave conditional support for Mr Yeltsin. Before the first round, Mr



Looking back: Boris Yeltsin speaking in Brest, Belarus, at the weekend to mark the 55th anniversary of the Nazi invasion of Soviet territory. Photograph: AP

Yavlinsky had a good opportunity to bargain with the President. But Mr Yeltsin's aides said the younger candidate approached the Kremlin leader with sweeping demands.

Since Mr Yavlinsky came only fourth, with 7.34 per cent of the vote, and since Mr Yeltsin is now co-operating with General Lebed, the economist, who is widely admired in

the West, has lost much of his relevance to the election. He will probably be lucky now if he is offered the job of Finance Minister in a new government under Mr Yeltsin.

Bishops force the Pope to censor his words

IMRE KARACS
Bonn

Catholic sensitivities about the Church's role during the Nazi regime were laid bare yesterday during the first papal visit to reunited Berlin. Under pressure from German bishops, Pope John Paul was forced to censor his own speech, omitting a passage which had tried to exonerate the Vatican's relations with Hitler.

In his prepared homily at the Olympic Stadium built for the 1936 Games, the Pope intended to praise his war-time predecessor, Pius XII, who has been criticised in the past for not denouncing Nazism. "Those who do not limit themselves to cheap polemics know very well what Pius XII thought about the Nazi regime, and how much he did to help the countless victims persecuted by the regime," read the text.

But those words did not pass his lips, just as similarly glowing references to "resistance" offered by the Church as a whole had been omitted from a mass he delivered in the German city of Paderborn on Saturday.

Yesterday's event, held in front of 100,000 worshippers, was dedicated to the memory of Catholics who did oppose Hitler. The Pope, barely able to walk, beatified Bernhard Lichtenberg and Karl Leisner, two priests who had paid for their courageous stand with their lives. "Today, the two martyrs celebrate the victory right here in the place where 60 years ago the National Socialist regime wanted to use the Olympic Games as a triumph of their inhumane ideology," he declared.

But his three-day visit to Germany is likely to be remembered for the words he did not utter. Apart from omissions dealing with Nazism, the Pope had been expected to dilute the Vatican's disdain for Martin Luther, who remains excommunicated from the Catholic Church. "Luther's attention to the word of God and his determination to follow what he saw to be the true path of faith cannot allow us to overlook his personal limitations," was the best the Pontiff could muster in the way of absolution.

SIGNIFICANT SHORTS

China cancelled a planned visit to Peking by the Foreign Minister, Klaus Kinkel, in retaliation for a Bundestag resolution condemning human rights violations in Tibet. Last Thursday, all mainstream parties signed up for a motion in the German parliament urging Peking to open a dialogue with Tibet's government-in-exile. On Saturday the Chinese Foreign Ministry carpeted the German ambassador.

"The [German] Parliament's action publicly trampled international law and was gross interference in China's internal affairs," Peking said yesterday. "In these circumstances, the Chinese side feels the atmosphere is clearly not conducive for a planned visit to China by Foreign Minister Kinkel on 11-14 July." *Imre Karacs - Bonn*

Sheikh Hasina became Bangladesh's new Prime Minister yesterday, 21 years after the nation's founding father was killed in an army massacre. "My first job will be to restore peace and political stability for rapid economic development," Ms Hasina, 48, told reporters after being sworn in by President Abdur Rahman Biswas. Ms Hasina's liberal Awami League finished first in this month's parliamentary election. Her rival, former Prime Minister Khawaja Zia, who resigned nearly three months ago after two years of protests led by Ms Hasina, did not attend the ceremony. *AP - Dhaka*

Markets in Pakistan cities were shut in response to a strike called by the opposition to protest against new taxes. Opposition leader Nawaz Sharif called the strike a success and asked Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's government to withdraw immediately this year's tax-packet budget and bring in a new one. Mr Sharif led opposition deputies, who wore black arm bands in protest, in a walk-out from the lower house of parliament.

"The people's wrath will sink the government down," he said. Police and paramilitary rangers patrolled streets and guarded markets in main cities such as Karachi, Lahore, Rawalpindi and Peshawar as well as the capital Islamabad, but there were no reports of violence. *Reuters - Islamabad*

The United States is expected to trigger a storm of protest when it seeks an exemption from the International Whaling Commission's global whaling ban at the group's annual meeting in Aberdeen starting today. The US is the staunchest supporter of the IWC's moratorium on commercial whaling and uses its financial might to police the ban with the threat of economic sanctions. But a request from the Makah tribe of North American Indians to resume catching grey whales has put Washington in an invidious position, since the US is equally committed to upholding tribal rights. *Reuters - London*

President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe vowed to seize more white-owned land, effectively nationalising hundreds of farms. Mr Mugabe, told a meeting of ruling party supporters that white settlers took land from blacks without paying for it and "this is what we are going to do" to them, the state-controlled *Sunday Mail* reported. A National Land Acquisition Committee was appointed by Mr Mugabe to speed up land seizures and would be headed by ruling party chairman, Joseph Msika, the paper said. *AP - Harare*

For the second time in a month, armed bandits have attacked a vehicle belonging to an international relief agency on a main Nairobi street in daylight and stolen a bag they apparently believed contained money. The attack on the van carrying seven European delegates of the Red Cross and a Kenyan driver occurred on Saturday. No one was hurt when the armed gunmen forced the van off the road and shot out the windows. The men demanded a bag carried by one of the delegates. *AP - Nairobi*

The leader of France's extreme right National Front, Jean-Marie Le Pen, attacked the composition of France's national football team, saying that it was "not natural" that someone could come to France from abroad by being named to the French national football team. Addressing an NF fête in southern France, Mr Le Pen claimed: "The majority of the French team don't sing the 'Marseillaise', and don't even seem to know it." He contrasted them with members of other teams competing in the Euro 96 championship, who, he said, sing their anthems "at the top of their voices". In fact there are no foreigners in the French side, although some are of foreign, mainly north African, extraction. *Mary Dejeux - Paris*

Japan's maverick wages war on political corruption

Tokyo — Virtue and power, in Japan even more than in most countries, are terms mutually incompatible, and until recently the list of heroic politicians would hardly have filled the back of a medium-sized postage stamp.

Election to the two houses of the Japanese Diet is a grubby business requiring family or business connections, large amounts of cash, or all three. No one, or almost no one, remains untainted, and the air of weary desperation which this induces in the public was vividly demonstrated in local elections last year. Faced with the choice between the established parties and a pair of former television comedians, voters expressed

their disgust by electing as governors of Tokyo and Osaka the Japanese equivalent of Norman Wisdom and Ernie Wise.

Naoto Kan, 48, is no comedian. In anything, he is a rather serious and quick-tempered man, a professional politician who in January became Health and Welfare Minister. But, in the space of three months, he has risen almost out of nowhere to the kind of personal popularity that money alone can never buy.

Mr Kan's apotheosis came about through his role in one of the saddest of the scandals which plague the Japanese bureaucracy. In the early Eighties, governments worldwide were facing

LOCAL HEROES

No 22: Naoto Kan

up to the threat posed by the AIDS virus. By 1983, it was clear that among the most vulnerable groups were haemophiliacs, who could catch the virus from infected anti-clotting blood products. But it was not until 1985 that treated blood products were licensed for use in Japan.

In the interim, nearly 2,000 people were infected; hundreds have since died of full-blown AIDS. Victims had long sus-

pected that the bureaucrats had delayed the licensing deliberately to give Japanese pharmaceutical companies time to catch up with their United States competitors. But the health ministry insisted that it had made a genuine mistake.

Enter Naoto Kan. As a member of Sakigake, the smallest of the three parties in Japan's uneasy coalition, his appointment to the health ministry was a mere token. Mr Kan was known as a moderate liberal, something of a political outsider, with a record of modest campaigning on welfare issues. Nobody was prepared for the impact he would have.

Within a few weeks he had

taken the ministry by the scruff of the neck. He personally ordered a search for the "lost" documents, which proved that the ministry had known all along about the dangers of infected blood; in a matter of days, they were found. More incriminating documents turned up last April, and a long-drawn out legal settlement granting compensation to victims and their families was settled with unexpected speed.

The moment for which he will always be remembered came on a bitter winter's day last February. A group of haemophiliacs and their supporters, had been keeping a vigil in tents outside the ministry. Mr Kan invited them inside and, watched by millions of television viewers, offered a full apology on behalf of the government.

Recently Mr Kan announced his imminent departure from Sakigake to join a new opposition party to be formed by a group of young politicians. But Japanese politics is unused to forceful individualists; parties still depend on the support of rank-and-file politicians who, it is said, are suspicious of Mr Kan. In cutting through the red tape, and winning the admiration of voters, he may have alienated the very people who hold the key to his political future.

Richard Lloyd Parry

How to become a proofreader

by Trevor Horwood

Do you envy people who love their jobs? I did too, so a few years ago I looked for a way to combine my love of books with the need to earn a living. I was a successful sales manager, so I needed something that paid well. I discovered that every year thousands of new titles are proofread and copy-edited by freelancers working from home throughout the country. I also discovered that neither a qualification in publishing nor a publishing background was necessary to become a freelance. Today I earn over £20,000 a year as a freelance proofreader and copy-editor, and I love every minute of it. My only problem now is deciding which assignments to accept, since I am regularly offered more work than I can cope with.

Sounds simple, doesn't it? Well, it wasn't! I had to do a lot of research on the way, identifying potential sources of work... learning the language of publishing jargon... discovering through trial and error the best way to proceed... and, hardest of all, how to break into the world of freelancing.

Now you can learn from my experience (and my mistakes) in a new publication: 'Freelance Proofreading and Copy-editing'. This manual provides a clear and concise overview of the publishing industry and the freelance's role in it, together with a series of fault-finding exercises with precise answers and explanations that provide all you need to complete straightforward proofreading assignments.

A list of 101 potential clients and their addresses is also included, and my step-by-step advice will enable you to approach them with confidence and maximize your chances of success. With this manual as your guide, you too can enjoy a gratifying and rewarding freelance career in publishing. Proofreading is particularly rewarding, as is copy-editing. What's more, you will save time and money by avoiding the mistakes made by most beginners - myself included, at the time.

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Doctors: a prescription for retaining our trust

Oh, doctor, I'm in trouble. Well, goodness gracious me. For every time that certain man was standing next to Sophia Loren, a flush came to her face. Peter Sellers (for he it was) made the pulse race principally because he was a doctor, and men of medicine are sex objects. Reassuring, authoritative physicians have an erotic pull much stronger than cognate professions, such as teaching or the law. Male doctors are the stuff of white-coated fantasy, stock Mills and Boon heroes; breathless women succumb to their soothing bedside manners, in fiction at least, as to no other masculine type.

That paragraph is couched in terms of male doctors because when members of the British Medical Association debate whether to change the rule of automatic suspension when charges of sexual relations with a patient are made, they are discussing a male problem. Women doctors are not prone to seducing patients: men occasionally are.

On the surface, even men having sex with patients is not much of a problem. The number struck off because they are found to have breached professional ethics by carrying on such a relationship is a small proportion of the total number of cases. But underneath lies a more profound question, not only for doctors, but also for the other great professions: how far can and ought they to stand out against the culture and stick with rules that may seem fussy and antiquated?

The case for changing the suspension rule is not strong. In the BMA's own words, there is an emotional inequality in the relationship between a doctor and patient which can easily lead to abuse and exploitation. Patients are, by definition, vulnerable, otherwise they wouldn't be in a waiting room at all: they are not well. The fact that words such as "seduce" are a little old-fashioned in describing most modern sexual relations is immaterial: whether they are seduced, or seducing, or mutually attracted, patients need to trust their doctor, as absolutely as any human relations allow.

A female patient might say: I have entered an affair with this man in full agreement, my consultation was a mere precipitating event. But the rules do not exist for her sake. They serve other patients, other doctors and the maintenance of a general confidence in propriety. Each and every GP belongs to a class of person who, empowered to press and prod other people's bodies, must never treat consultation as the antechamber to the bedroom. Patients have a uniquely individual relationship with their doctors, not encountered in any other profession, and anything that undermines their confidence in that relationship will ultimately undermine the doctor's ability to carry out his or her work.

If a doctor and a patient do embark on a relationship outside the consulting room, there is a simple remedy: change doctor. It may even — though



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probably rarely — be necessary to protect doctors against patients, enabling doctors to move patients from their register where their position is threatened by a patient's compromising behaviour.

The prohibition against medical liaisons is a good one, and members of the BMA should follow their leaders' advice and reject any change, even symbolic. However, they could ask for a little more flexibility on the part of the GMC. The GMC, of course, deals only with complaints. Doctors, too, are vulnerable; they enter affairs at their peril. Injuries to the heart can be more devastating than physical ailments.

The ending of an affair can be a time when, however consensual it has been, lovers are out for revenge, and the GMC is to hand. Its panels need the wisdom of Solomon to judge the nature of relationships. Clearly a doctor who has had a series of short-lived affairs with patients deserves harsher judgement than one who, at the ending of a grand and long-lasting passion, has been denounced, say, by a lover's husband. The GMC procedure exists, let us not forget, for the sake of the public's assurance. That can as easily be served by the fact that proceedings take place as by any particular punishment.

Breaches of ethics can and often should be marked by knuckle-rapping and fines as much as by suspension and the ultimate sanction of forbidding a doctor to practise.

In recent years, professions have been bated and battered. Government ministers never tired, it seemed, of quoting that passage from Adam Smith about how whenever butchers and bakers or apothecaries and lawyers got together in private they were conspiring against the public's interest. That attitude corrupted health and education policy, and thwarted the Conservatives' own efforts to reform the legal system.

Professionals should not be emancipated from constraints on their costs or measures of their effectiveness. But professional autonomy, including strong influence over their own ethical standards, is one of the cornerstones of a society that is not and is never going to be dominated by the state. Most of all, we entrust professional associations with the responsibility to ensure that their members can, indeed, be trusted.

That trust runs two ways. We extend our confidence to teachers, doctors, lawyers, engineers, architects. We give them our minds, our bodies, our possessions for repair, enlightenment or better disposition. We trust the organisations to which professionals belong (less so in the case of teachers, sadly) to regulate their members. We collectively assent to generous rewards and

especially for doctors, the highest esteem. We expect in return performance and sincerity.

That warmth and esteem are precious. It is because of them that doctors are subject to tight rules about their conduct. When they debate the standards expected of their peers, members of the BMA should bear this in mind. The rules inhibit a small number of individual doctors from a kind of self-indulgence. That is a small price to pay for retaining the public's deep respect.

Safe as the pound in your trolley

Soon only Italian garages and certain designer-chef restaurants will be holding out. Elsewhere plastic will do nicely. But beware grand predictions about the cashless future. Remember how once cable was going to sweep terrestrial television away (the advent of digital channels has seen that off). And how E-mail was sure to do for letters (more pieces of printed mail are being sent than ever). The rise of plastic is not going to kill off good old £ and p, because of the nature of transactions. Entire classes of spending — such as buying Lottery tickets — are affairs of cash. And what else but a pound coin could unlock a supermarket trolley?

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Access to criminal records

Sir: Michael Howard's plans to give employers wider access to job applicants' criminal records ("Firms to access criminal files", 19 June) will breach their right to privacy and could lead to more cases of re-offending.

Although it is right that those who are seeking to employ people to work with children or vulnerable people should have access to the criminal records of job applicants, it is clearly not right for all employers to have access to all criminal records.

These would include very minor convictions, where there is no connection between what people have done in the past and the job being applied for. It would be a gross violation of their right to privacy and would seriously damage their chance to build a new life after having served a sentence.

Liberty, the National Council for Civil Liberties, is also concerned that some employers will not only have access to the details of convictions but to other information — even acquittals. Suspicion, titillate and rumour should never be the basis for refusing employment.

JOHN WADHAM
Director
Liberty (National Council for Civil Liberties)
London SE1

Sir: Amidst all the furore over the White Paper on Access to Criminal Records for Employment Purposes ("Firms to access criminal files", 19 June), a fundamental point has been lost. While many people accept that children need special protection under the law, they do not realise that there are at least as many "vulnerable" adults at risk of sexual and physical abuse. They are people who, by virtue of their disabilities, are dependent on the support of others.

Sense, the National Deafblind and Rubella Association, represents people who are both deaf and blind. Because of the complex nature of the conditions which cause deafblindness, some deafblind people also have intellectual impairments and learning disabilities. For some, their lack of physical communication means that they cannot appeal for help or explain what may have happened to them.

Shocking and unbelievable as it is, potential abusers are strongly attracted to working with such vulnerable adults. The White Paper does not recognise this and puts vulnerable adults in a lesser category than children by not allowing full access to all police intelligence.

This is wrong. Our society responds warmly to children in need, but sadly, we are ignoring the needs of other vulnerable people.

Spotting potential abusers and running services in ways which minimise risks are complex problems. Access to criminal records and police intelligence is only part of the solution. But it is an essential ingredient, which the White Paper fails to address adequately.

The legislation which follows must put this right.
DAVID HARKER
Managing Director
Sense
The National Deafblind and Rubella Association
London N4



Growth and investment

Sir: In his reprise of the investment-economic growth theme, Gavin Davies ("Capital reasons for extra public investment", 17 June) makes two errors, one of attribution and one of inference.

His first mistake is to attribute to me views which I do not hold, namely that "investment is irrelevant for growth, or otherwise unimportant for government policy". In fact, it is wholly uncontroversial that a spontaneous rise in the ratio of physical investment to the gross domestic product would increase the UK's medium-term growth rate. What is at issue is the scale of that growth uplift and whether it persists into the longer term.

At the risk of diminishing returns, I will briefly restate my judgement. I believe traditional economic theory is correct in saying that the impact of extra physical investment on growth depends on the (modest) rate of return on capital and is ultimately transitory. By contrast, Mr Davies, writing under the influence of new growth theorists and the empirical work of De Long and Summers, reckons that the effect could be large and persistent.

This is his second mistake. Like those authors, Mr Davies would infer from the growth experience of emerging economies in Asia and Latin America that there are large growth gains to be had from extra physical investment.

This may be true for economies at that stage of development, but it is incorrect to suppose that the same would apply in the UK. There

is quite enough variation in growth and investment experience in the developed world adequately to test the De Long-Summers proposition that plant and machinery investment would yield large growth benefits in mature economies. Those tests, together with more detailed research of UK manufacturing industry, pretty decisively reject their new view in favour of the traditional proposition to which I therefore subscribe.

In his concluding remarks, Mr Davies realises that the policy implications are not as straightforward as "more capital investment is better than less" — one of the "common sense propositions" which he advanced in his first article. In the past, governments which have set out with an agenda to raise capital spending have often ended up subsidising inefficiency and creating other market distortions along the way.

I suggest that a preferable agenda, informed by recent growth experience in the UK, would be to set policies which encourage technological transfer, higher efficiency and better resource allocation.

I appreciate that the headline is less catchy than one that sings the praises of physical investment, but in this matter it is right not to pander to the priors of those who are unwitting victims of a 1960s mindset.

BILL MARTIN
Chief Economist
UBS Ltd
London EC2

Testing for inauthenticity

Sir: Bryan Appleyard, by referring to recent criticism about misattributions in various museums ("Beware of mad art disease", 20 June) adopts a nonchalant, laid-back attitude towards what he dismissively calls the "rash of stories of new art errors".

However, by not taking seriously into account attempts at establishing the truth about a painting like Rubens' *Samson and Delilah* and by rubbishing as mad cow hysteria requests to apply a dendrochronology test, he forgets: a) that Rubens' *Samson and Delilah* has cost the taxpayer a colossal amount of money (£2.5m in 1980); b) that even a cursory look at the relevant literature (references to which were provided by the sellers) raises serious doubts about its authenticity; c) that given the cost and the doubts, it is utterly incomprehensible that the National Gallery bought the painting without, as a matter of course, applying all scientific tests available — including dendrochronology.

As Mr Appleyard surely knows, although the dendrochronology test cannot with absolute certainty establish a painting's authenticity, it can certainly confirm its inauthenticity.
Professor NICOL MOUZELIS
The London School of Economics and Political Science
London, WC2

Don't spoil Britain's beauty

Sir: I'm sorry to read that "the countryside is under threat from advertising clutter" (19 June).

My wife and I, both Belgians, are on holiday, travelling by car all over Britain, as we have been doing for the past 15 years. The reason we keep coming is that we find our countryside so special and unique in its freshness.

This point always comes up when we are discussing driving through Britain with our friends on the Continent, many of whom like your country for this reason. Please don't let your natural beauty be spoiled.
JAN PEETERS
MIA PEETERS
Afriston, East Sussex

Sir: S A Hughes (Letters, 21 June), who advised the Government that national controls on roadside advertising should be abandoned, dismisses fears of end-to-end hoardings in the countryside on the grounds that poster companies might not wish to site their hoardings there.

If that is so, why is such advertising so common in France and the US? Also, she ought to have known that the main source of roadside advertising in this country before the ban was not "poster companies" but petrol companies, who withdrew their hoardings voluntarily after a public campaign in the 1920s.
Dr AVNER OFFER
Reader in Recent Social and Economic History
Nuffield College, Oxford

Parallel systems in Vanuatu

Sir: Dr Peter Hayes' suggestion (letter, "Rebellion at the birth of Ulster", 21 June) that every individual in Northern Ireland be given a choice between being subject to two parallel political, judicial and administrative structures run in parallel by Britain and the Irish Republic has a historical antecedent.

Such a system operated in the former New Hebrides (now Vanuatu) which was administered as a co-dominion by Britain and France until the mid-1980s. Each country operated parallel police forces, law courts and administrative structures with everyone being able to choose one or the other.

It was cumbersome but worked tolerably well. Unfortunately the requisite imagination and willingness to make such a scheme work in Northern Ireland appears to be lacking in large sections of both communities.
Dr STEVE KISELY
Lecturer in
Public Health
Manchester University
Manchester

It was cumbersome but worked tolerably well. Unfortunately the requisite imagination and willingness to make such a scheme work in Northern Ireland appears to be lacking in large sections of both communities.
Dr STEVE KISELY
Lecturer in
Public Health
Manchester University
Manchester

Positive support for children's TV

Sir: Marianne Macdonald's negative portrayal of the performance of BBC-TV's children's programmes cannot pass unchallenged ("X-Files takes over world of Andy Pandy", 20 June).

It fails to reflect both the wide range of opinions expressed at the BBC governors' seminar and the current popular and critical success of the BBC Children's schedule.

I was not a witness to a "damning verdict". Those taking part — children, teenagers, parents, experts, teachers, psychologists and programme makers from ITV, satellite and cable — were overwhelmingly positive about the quality and relevance of our output.

The BBC is painstaking in listening to the views and concerns of children and to putting their needs in the forefront of creating an unmatched range of award-winning programmes. The net result is that 80 per cent of the nation's children (4-15 year olds) tune into the BBC's children's service in an average week.

The BBC is listening: the nation's children are watching.
WILL WYATT
Managing Director
BBC Network Television
London W12

Sir: I attended the BBC governors' seminar on children and television and I wondered whether Marianne Macdonald and I had been at the same event. Forty years after it was first transmitted, your reporter has at last caught up with *Andy Pandy*; unfortunately she seems to have failed to grasp that *Andy Pandy* was a 1950s pre-school programme and so cannot be "taken over" by the *X-Files*, which is a 1990s adult programme, watched by some school-age children.

Preschool children don't understand the *X-Files*; they like *Playdays* and *Rosie and Jim*. Older children like — and always have liked — adult science fiction, as well as children's programmes such as *Blue Peter*. They did in the 1950s when they watched *Doctor Who*, and they did in the 1960s and 1970s when they watched *Star Trek* and *Blake's Seven*. School-aged children like more than one kind of programme, just as adults do.

But many children under 10, and nearly all under five, cannot understand or relate to adult material. This is why they need a specialist children's service. This is why the largest concentrations of child viewers are still found between the hours of 3.30pm and 6pm — the hours of children's programmes, followed by *Neighbours*.

This was the message received, and by my observation, welcomed, by the BBC governors at the seminar.
Dr MAIRE DAVIES
London E4

Home Secretary but never PM

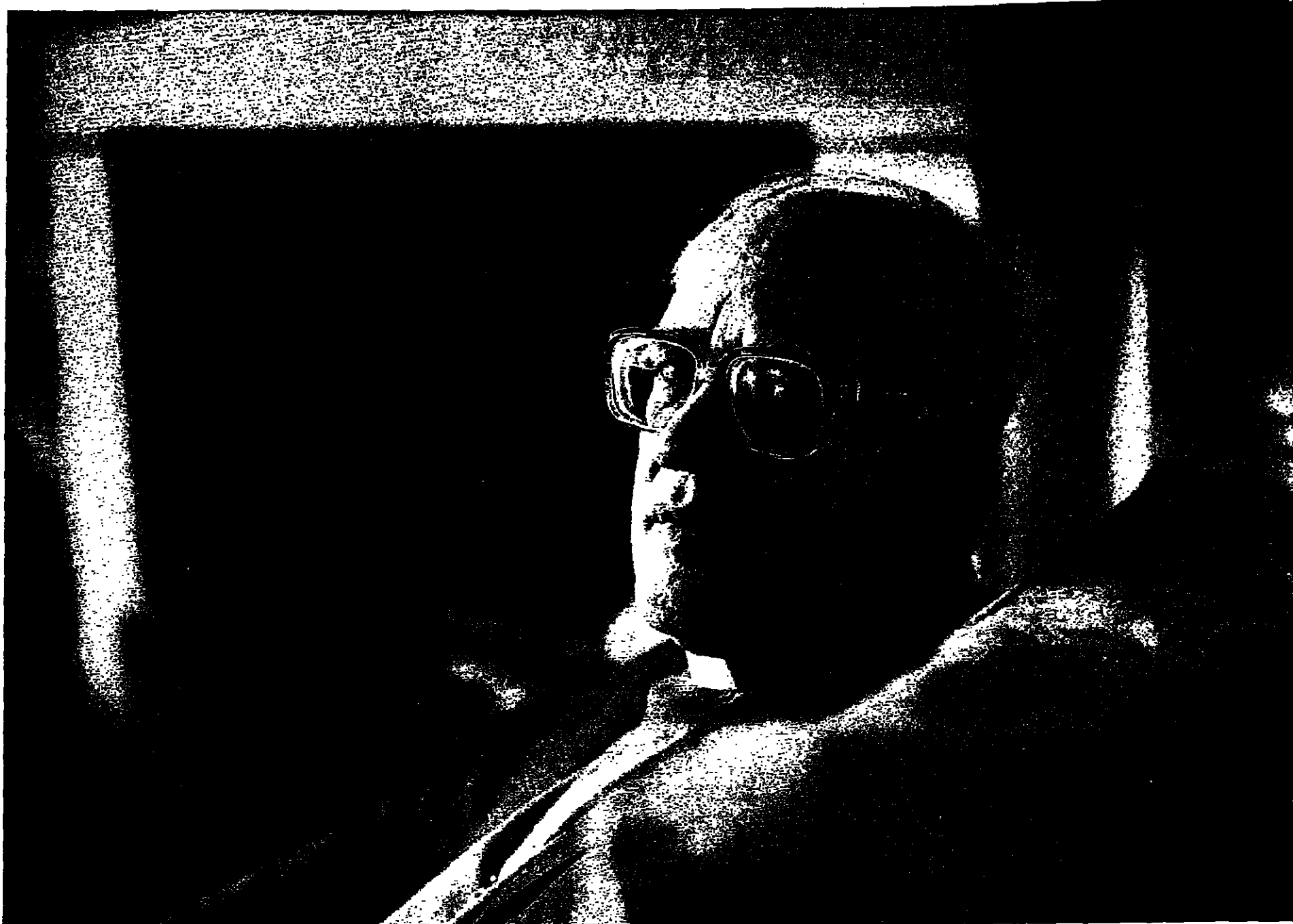
Sir: To the splendid leadership ("Michael Howard, leadership contender", 20 June) listing many convincing reasons why he will never be Prime Minister, may I add another?

No Conservative Home Secretary has become Prime Minister this century.
No Winston Churchill is not an exception: in 1910-11 he was a Liberal MP, serving in a Liberal Government.
Dr GRAHAM DON
London E3

14
interview

‘We have lost the art of judging right from wrong... We are in danger of becoming a shallow society’

The Archbishop of Canterbury talks to Andrew Marr about his campaign for a debate on Britain's moral decline



Dr Carey: 'You can only have good citizenship if it is based upon common values which we all acknowledge and if no rigid distinction is made between personal and public morality' Tom Pison

The Archbishop of Canterbury has decided to launch a national debate on the moral decline of Britain. He will begin this month. But what does it mean, this decline? And how do church leaders, or any other kind of leaders, actually turn things around? Before he set off at the weekend for South Africa, George Carey gave the *Independent* an insight into his coming campaign.

He was in fiery mood. "Part of our problem today," he said, "is that because we have all become so accepting and charitable towards one another – and I am not disagreeing with charity at all – we have, maybe, lost the art of judging what is right from wrong, or assessing what is deviancy as opposed to normality. We are in danger of becoming a shallow society, focused on consumerism."

Where, in the past, even people on the edge of the Church, like Thomas Hardy and George Eliot, went along with the general Christian consensus, "when you have a soci-

ety in which unbelief has become the norm and practising Christianity a minority pursuit, then you have to raise the question, what are the shared values that hold us together?"

He would wait to see whether changing morality was a trend, but "people will not be surprised if, as a Christian leader, I am going to be warning against that and actually questioning whether it is going to lead to the collapse of the kind of civilisation as we have known it."

Few pulled punches there. But wasn't he in the situation of political leaders, who jerked the old levers of authority and found that they no longer worked?

Dr Carey replied that he wasn't someone who looked back to a golden age before the Sixties, and he wasn't worried that authority was being questioned. "But we have lost a sense of community and I have been warning against the loss of sense of shared values that used to bind us together... whereas the politicians seem to think that what essentially matters is economic order and prosperity and consumerism." He was all for wealth creation, but "the real fabric of society is the spiritual and moral fabric, and this is the kind of currency that makes civilisations function."

For a long time Britain had been living off the legacy of the past which had been strongly Judeo-Christian and a shared sense of values, but that legacy was now being questioned. The Church had a prophetic role in the country to say, "you can only have good citizenship if it is based upon common values which we all acknowledge and if no rigid distinction is made between 'personal' morality and public morality."

He was, then, one of those who thought that people's individual private lives affected their public role? The Archbishop was strongly critical of press intrusion and harassment but added, pretty firmly, "I regard morality as indivisible and what a person gets up to in public life affects his personal life and vice versa."

The Archbishop accepted my point that morality seemed to change – once it was thought immoral to be homosexual, now it is thought immoral to be homophobic – but returned to what he called the common ground of the Ten Commandments and the teaching of Christ. I reminded him that he had used the phrase, "the privatisation of morality" to criticise modern Britain.

Was he advocating the rationalisation of morality? "Yes, yes. Or we can say public ownership of morality. We ought not to be ashamed of goodness, righteousness, honesty, duty... We've lost a language of blame and sin. The word 'sin' is now a word dying, leaving our vocabulary. Was it Oscar Wilde who said the distinction between man and animals is that man knows how to blush? I wonder if we've lost a sense of shame. And I think that's something we need to work on."

That, I suggested, made him sound like a communitarian (those American and British social thinkers who have attracted growing support both on the right and from leaders such as Bill Clinton and Tony Blair.) He agreed: "Communitarianism is a term that unites all those interested in values – Christian and non-Christian – and therefore I think that's a very helpful debate going on. Sometimes I wonder mischievously if these words are really just saying the same thing

as what we meant by community and community values and so on; but we are talking about how we can create again a society based upon common values that we all own; and all share; and what they are showing actually is the importance of all those elements – religion included – as part of the solidarity which binds people together."

This was all very well, but if political leaders were unable to get their messages over, how would he succeed? In the age of mass media, the internet and so on, he was off to speak on morality to the House of Lords!

I got a remarkably frank response: "When I am at my most pessimistic moment, I sometimes wonder how anybody can possibly put back into society something which is central to its existence, and something which seems to be lost... I seriously doubt whether we can actually do any more than blow trumpets from castle tops and warn. But the other side of me says that actually there is such goodwill in society..."

"In the Sixties I experienced in my parish ministry some hostility. There was a lot of triumphalism around, which seemed to say, 'well we don't need this thing called faith.' That was changing; there was more openness. Later he returned to the problem and said: "When I am back to my most pessimistic moment, I could say you throw up your hands and walk away from it. You don't... I am like the salmon going upstream. You have got to fight against this."

So what, in practical terms, were his weapons for the fight? The Archbishop replied that he wanted to ignite a national debate. "It will require a partnership between the school, parents, government, the

media" to return Britain to the "good society, founded upon the principles which I regard as essentially Christian."

It has to start with Sunday schools, with churches, in family life... When I talk to teachers, I notice their concern that they don't feel they have the support of families any longer. They are often caught up in the task of actually doing jobs that the parents should be doing, which is bringing children up to be moral... parents are also perhaps to blame in not doing their job of parenting."

There was a role too for the wider community, though Dr Carey made it clear he thought that remoralisation had to be led by religious people: "Any religious person is going to say that when you work from the end of life, that is the thing that sets out the value... The challenge facing atheists is, have they got an ideological basis for ethical standards?"

"I would want to challenge them on that particular point. What is the basis? That is not to say they can't be good. Indeed they are, many of them. Very good, very moral people. But I want to question whether there is a logic there, whereas religious people have obviously got a logic."

Since we were now talking about the moral condition of non-Christians, I asked him what he thought about the pre-millennium mood, the New Ageism and the rest of it. He acknowledged that "the mainstream churches are being challenged by New Age religions and Eastern religions, and maybe what we have got to face up to is that we have lived off the outside of our faith for too long... Maybe what we have got to learn is to return to the depths of faith."

He wants to use the anniversary next year of the coming of St Augustine to Canterbury in 597 and the death of St Columba on Iona in the same year to begin some pre-millennium crusading of his own. "You have got the great movement of the Celtic mission in the north and then in the south, the Latin Roman mission. I think we may well find we will be able to tap some of this spirituality... I think the Church must grab the opportunity of the Millennium, and indeed I and my colleagues in recent months have been reminding the Government that the year 2000 would have no significance if it wasn't related to the birth of Jesus Christ, and therefore is essentially a Christian anniversary, a Christian party to which everyone is welcome."

The Archbishop has recently announced that he is to visit the Pope in December. The Vatican is very keen on making the year 2000 a focus for Christian unity, but I suggested to Dr Carey that, while personal relations were good, the distance between Canterbury and Rome remained large.

"Yes... personal relationships are very warm, very wholesome indeed; and I have worked, and other people have worked hard, at securing that. And I have got the highest regard for the Pope as an individual, as a fine Christian leader." There had been some important theological agreements. But "where we are far apart will be on the infallibility of the Pope; some of the Marian dogmas, celibacy of priesthood, for example; and the ordination of women more lately... It's going to be a long time before we can actually talk about the full visible unity."

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Gazza scores and we all make a meal of it

I have spent most of this Euro 96 tournament time in the depths of Canada, well away from the action. Not trying deliberately to avoid it, just going through with a family visit to relatives near Toronto which had been arranged long ago. Still, it was worse for brother-in-law Keith, whom we were visiting. He loves football and lives in Canada, which is a lot further from soccer action than anywhere in England.

"I hope you're not doing anything on Saturday morning," were Keith's greeting words, "but I've fixed up for us to watch the Scotland v England game at Roger's flat in Toronto."

Roger is a chef. So is Keith. So were Scott and Mike, the other two people present in the flat. I don't think I have ever been the only non-chef at a breakfast party before. I wonder if you can guess what chefs cook up for each other at breakfast time when nobody's looking?

That's right. Full English breakfast. Tomatoes, mush-

rooms, bacon, sausages, beans, etc...

Not much was said during the game, except when Scott asked me if I'd like some pepper. Roger was too busy cooking to watch. Scott and Mike, I think, had not seen a soccer game before, and were probably there mainly for the excellent breakfast.

So it was left to Keith and me to supply the running bar-bore commentary without which no game is complete, though the only comment I can remember now came from Keith just after Paul Gascoigne had scored his wonder-goal (side flick over Hendry thunderous half volley) and flopped over on the turf in celebration.

"When Gascoigne scores a goal like that," said Keith, "he's a genius. When he lies on his back like that, inviting all his mates to jump on him, he's a wally. Wouldn't it be wonderful if the rest of the team just walked back to their own half, leaving him lying there? But it will never happen."

During one of the duller moments of the game, I mentioned to Keith a recipe I had seen in the *Radio Times* a few weeks previously, the name of which was so trendy that it had bemused me. Soared Scalops, Black Fettucine and Sun-Dried Tomato Salsa.

"Still using sun-dried tomatoes in England, are they?" said Keith, not unkindly. "Actually, it's pretty pointless using them in a salsa, as it would just drown it. Salsa is meant to be full of fresh, raw flavour not sun-dried ones. And anyway, a recipe like that involves very little cooking, if any. It's all assembly. But most restaurant cooking



Miles Kington

these days is assembly, not cooking.

"Little tasty bits joined together, not real cooking... Bit like modern football," he added, as another Scottish move broke down.

I missed the England v Holland match but was back on Saturday for the England-Spain encounter.

Unfortunately this clashed with our village fête – another bit of dodgy planning – where the maddening crowd dissolved at about three o'clock as everyone went home to watch two hours of Anglo-Spanish stalemate. Everyone, that is, except Rupert, who is a chef and was on duty behind the village barbecue, dispensing burgers and baked potatoes instead of his more usual tomato coulis and sabayons and things...

"I hope I never see another baked potato in foil in my life," he said to me sadly, looking down at the well-carbonised griddle bars.

"Tell me, Rupert," I said, trying to sound well-informed, "do you think

restaurant cooking is more assembly than real cooking these days?"

"I'll tell you what I do think," he said, avoiding the question as effortlessly as a top politician. "I don't think it's beef that should be banned in this country. I think it's duck!"

"Duck? Why duck?"

"Because it's boring, that's why! I'm so tired of cooking duck. There's nothing much you can do with it except undercook it pink or overcook it. I can't understand why people go on asking for it! This is just duck breasts I'm talking about, mark you. A whole duck is different, or even better a whole goose..."

From somewhere in the distance of the village cheers broke out. Spain, we learned, had just lost on penalties.

"What you do with a whole goose is this..." continued Rupert, but I was edging away by now.

I don't want the entire Euro 96 tournament to be spent discussing the art of cooking.

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An escape from the prison mentality

The Americans are now realising that building more jails does not reduce crime. There is a better way

Elliott Currie has been to Howard's End, and what a barren destination it is. The leading American criminologist, visiting Britain the other day, warned us that he has seen our penal future – and it doesn't work. Locking up hundreds of thousands more criminals has led to a social disaster which we are hurrying to copy.

Hurrying we surely are. Last week Britain's prison population reached another all-time high – 54,994, well over 25 per cent more people in jail since Michael Howard became Home Secretary three years ago. He points to the down-turn in American crime figures of the last three years and ascribes it to a huge increase in the numbers of people locked up. It's common sense, the more you lock up, the fewer would-be criminals there are committing crimes. It is called "incapacitation". No, says Professor Currie, "there has been an extraordinary campaign of misinformation about the state of crime and punishment in the United States." And Britain is in the process of becoming its next dupe.

Here is the American crime story as he sees it. Since 1970, the US prison population has increased by 250 per cent. For a quarter of a century a deliberate policy of prison-building and locking up criminals has been pursued to the exclusion of virtually all other approaches to crime. The prison budget in many states has eaten up education while destroying virtually every programme designed to prevent the young turning to crime.

But did crime diminish? With five

times more people in prison, the answer remained stubbornly no. During the time of the most extravagant prison-building it soared everywhere – peaking in the early 1990s. Even liberal experts such as Professor Currie expected wide-scale incarceration to have slightly more impact on the crime figures. The prison boom has been so extreme that in 1989 the state of Michigan alone opened one new prison every nine weeks.

But then crime did dip. However, says Professor Currie, the drop in US crime in the last three years has not followed from the incarceration explosion. The fall is much less impressive on close analysis, especially when you examine the relationship between prisons and crime state by state.

It turns out there is no local correlation between the amount of crime and the prison-building boom. Big prison populations go with big crime rates and low crime rates. Some relatively low-crime states have low lock-up rates, some have big prison populations. The city of New Orleans locks up five times more prisoners than in 1970 yet has four times more murders – at a time when there are fewer young people, the age group most likely to commit murder.

The national decline in crime figures is accounted for by what has happened in one or two big cities. Some 65 per cent of the national reduction is due to New York alone. This has to do with the ebbing of its crack epidemic which, like fever, seems to have reached a peak before falling away. The metropolitan economy



POLLY TOYNEE

The Justice Department cooked up figures to show 'prison pays'

picked up and more jobs were created. New York adopted a new policing strategy that took cops out of cars and targeted crime hot-spots. Grimly, another reason for the decline of crime is simple attrition. Many young blacks literally cancelled each other out – the average young American black is 200 times more likely to be murdered than a white British youth, usually at the hands of another youth. Aids too has taken its toll among potential criminals and drug users.

There is one other key factor. This one, however, offers hope: a large number of young men identified in infancy as high crime risks were put into Head Start programmes – and in some cities the effectiveness of those schemes has finally been shown in the crime figures.

Meanwhile American prison policy

has cost. As entire state budgets were swallowed up by prisons, the Justice Department cooked up some figures to show that "prison pays." It claimed that crime in America costs \$450bn, while prisons only cost \$40bn – a bargain. But to create that first figure, huge notional costs of the pain and suffering to victims were counted in, as if real money had been paid out to them by courts in compensation. The pain and suffering of the victims of crime is real enough; that money is, alas, imaginary.

The key question is: how much does any given amount of crime-reduction cost? Professor Currie acknowledges that there is a connection between crime and numbers in jail. Incapacitation works a little bit – but at what expense? Home Office research also suggests that prison works – but minimally. You get only a 1 per cent reduction in crime for every extra 25 per cent rise in the prison population.

However, each extra prisoner costs around £24,000 a year. The head of the prison service estimates that we will need 25 new jails costing £6bn to meet the increased sentences outlined in the Government's White Paper. But if not prison, what is the best balance between crime prevention and cost? Professor Currie answers by pointing to child abuse and neglect. Intensive assistance to high-risk families has been proven to stop many battered and embittered children turning to crime. Nurseries also "work".

One American programme gave a year's highly structured teaching to pre-schoolers from high-risk families

in Detroit, for a few hours a day. The children are now 27, and, compared with others from identical backgrounds, five times less likely to be criminals. For older children, even for young offenders, intensive structured treatment for relatively short periods makes big inroads into criminality.

But in the US there is no money for such things: budgets have been slashed to pay for more prisons. The fashionable political myth is that these social approaches never did any good – despite overwhelming and unchallenged evidence to the contrary. Social stuff is soft and Sixties – prisons are for the tough-minded. It is a latter-day version of know-nothingism for politicians and their media acolytes who prefer slogans to solutions.

But Michael Howard may not be long for this world. He might even, paradoxically, leave his Labour successor – Jack Straw – with a magnificent opportunity.

He should be allowed to keep the existing Home Office budget. Then he has to set about returning the prison population to its pre-Howard levels, where they were when Douglas Hurd moved petty offenders out into alternative sentences. The back of my envelope says 10,000 fewer people in prison gives Straw a handsome £240m a year to spend on proven schemes that do reduce criminality – some within the prison population, some among three-years-olds. He can be as tough on crime as Tony Douglas Hurd, and as tough on the causes of crime as Tony Blair – by pushing money into schemes that really do work.

Hillary seeks a guardian angel

The First Lady's tribulations have driven her to find solace on the other side, says David Osborne

Thank you Bob Woodward. Getting up yesterday was so much easier with your trouble-making new book (aren't they all?) about Hillary Clinton and her mental tribulations. The First Lady communing with Eleanor Roosevelt in a sun room on the White House roof? It's too much. I shan't even bother looking at the rest of the newspaper.

In case the *Post* was not on your breakfast table, Woodward (he who, with fellow journalist Carl Bernstein, exposed the Watergate crimes of President Nixon), is the author of a soon-to-be-published work, *The Choice*, which allegedly looks at some of the inner machinations of both the Clinton White House and of the Bob Dole camp as the 1996 presidential vote approaches. But it is tit-bits about Hillary and her spiritual advisor, Jean Houston, that will sell the book. Ms Houston is co-director of the "Foundation for Mind Research" and believes that inner strength can be drawn from conversing with dead heroes. (Her own "personal archetypal predecessor", by the way, is the Greek goddess of wisdom, Athena.) She first met the First Lady in 1994 when President Clinton summoned a group of motivational experts to Camp David and apparently has been a regular visitor to the private quarters of the White House ever since.

The good news for the White House yesterday was that Ms Houston has moved on from some of the methods she favoured back in the Sixties, like using LSD to help patients into a trance. "She tried to be careful with Hillary and the President, intentionally avoiding those techniques," Woodward writes. Even so, this book is unlikely to enhance public confidence in the First Lady. Some readers – though probably they dislike her already – will consider her downright potty.

Under Mrs Houston's guidance, Mrs Clinton seemingly discovered the pleasures of "locking with one's angel", who, in her case, were Mahatma Gandhi and Eleanor Roosevelt, the wife of FDR. In one session, the First Lady eventually sought solace from Gandhi, explaining that he, like her, had been "profoundly misunderstood". In another, held in the roof-top solarium, Ms Houston apparently asked the First Lady to "open herself up to Mrs Roo-

sevelt as a way of looking at her own capacities and place in history," writes Woodward.

We are reminded of Nancy Reagan and revelations that her consultations with an astrologer were determining her husband's schedule. Woodward implies that Ms Clinton's activities may have more serious implications. "Astrology only changed timing and it was kind of pseudo-science that could be fun or worth a laugh," he opines. "Yet the Reagan's had been ridiculed. Hillary's sessions with Houston reflected a serious inner turmoil that she has not resolved."

We can have a laugh over this too. Millions of Americans are surely giggling. But there are, indeed, more serious considerations. These stories come at a time when the First Lady is



Hillary: psycho-babble nut?

already struggling to keep herself from being sucked into the still-swirling Whitewater affair. There are whispers in Washington that she may even face indictment for perjury and obstruction of justice. Being painted now as some kind of psycho-babble nut cannot help.

But what of Mrs Clinton herself? We know she is a woman of considerable intelligence who took her place in Washington wanting to be more than a society hostess (and baker of cookies). Apparently, however, she has not found another way to handle successfully the pressures and loneliness of the position. There are glimpses in the book that suggest a person who is not just frustrated but who may be suffering depression.

"Life throws a lot of crap at you," she is quoted as saying in one session with Houston. "When the inevitable crap comes, which it will in anybody's life, and not just once but several times, it helps that there is a cushion of capacity there, and there is a structure that gets you up in the morning." If Hillary finds her cushion conversing with the dead, well, why not? Others might call it praying.

The Internet is our most democratic medium. Governments should not restrict it

Freedom for surfers



ANDREAS WHITTAM SMITH

An American court has examined the Internet, compared it to the older mass media – newspapers, radio and television – and found it uniquely valuable. The three judges sitting in Pennsylvania described it "as the most participatory form of mass speech yet developed". It represented an ideal, a medium in which there could be a free trade in ideas. The judges spent months listening to expert argument. Their decision spoke in the heightened terms of an historic ruling: "The Internet is a far more speech-enhancing medium than print, the village green or the mails." And as it is seamlessly global, the decision affects us. It is our Internet, too.

The court had been asked to protect the freedom of expression guaranteed by the American constitution. The plaintiffs, led by the American Civil Liberties Union, argued that the Communications Decency Act, signed into law last February, making it a criminal offence to transmit any "indecent" or "patently offensive" material on the Internet, was unconstitutional.

Certainly, sexually explicit material does exist on the Internet, although almost all of it is preceded by warnings. Moreover older laws covering obscenity and child pornography remain fully operative: the US Justice Department has successfully used them recently to prosecute on-line cases. But beyond this, communication on the Internet can be, as the judges noted, unfiltered, unpolished and unconventional, sexually controversial and vulgar – "in a word indecent". It is into this new area that the Communications Decency Act extended the law.

The plaintiffs' objection was that it would prohibit the transmission of some literary, artistic and educational material of value to minors as well as adults. For this reason, the new law's opponents included Aids organisations, the Planned Parenthood Association, booksellers' associations, writers' groups, and single-issue pressure groups such as Stop Prisoner Rape and Human Rights Watch.

What did the Court admire so much about the Internet? One feature is that nobody owns, controls or dominates this global web of computers and computer networks, linked together by the world's telephone system. It is like the



roads in this country except that the Internet does not belong to anybody, it exists because the operators of computers and of computer networks in different countries have decided to use a common method or language for transferring data. They have been concerned only with how quickly a packet of data travels around the Internet and not with the content of these missives.

Secondly, the Internet is inexpensive and thus as open to minority interests as to mainstream concerns. For the price of a home computer and a modem linking it to the telephone system, you can connect to and thereby address the world. You could participate, for instance, in the 15,000 or so discussion groups or you could create your own Web site (a Web site comprises material assembled on your computer which any one of the 40 million people using the Internet can call up on to their own computer). Compare this with the effort, time and money required to get a book published, or a newspaper launched or a television service under way.

When challenged, the US Government said that providers of material on the Internet which

might be unsuitable could take steps, rather as cinemas do, to prevent children reaching it. They might ask "visitors" to show that they had a credit card, which would rule out minors. Or they could tag doubtful material so that it could be filtered out by special software. The trouble with the first is that the credit card companies would not cooperate in verification unless a commercial transaction is involved. The drawback to the second is that it would be expensive for non-profit organisations to carry out even if the relevant technology existed.

Fortunately, without government prompting, ratings services and software applications are being designed to help parents limit their children's access to the Internet. A Platform for Internet Content Selection or PICS has been launched which provides a positive rating of Web sites. And there is software which will route users to only those sites and no others.

Taking all this into account, the three judges declared the Communications Decency Act unconstitutional. One of the judges said that the Internet may fairly be regarded as a "never ending worldwide conversation. The Government may not... interrupt that conversation."

Such a result could not be obtained under Britain's present constitutional arrangements. We have no entrenched right to freedom of expression. A bill similar to the Communications Decency Act could quite easily pass through Parliament and become unchallenged law. While the tradition of free speech in the United Kingdom is deep rooted, in the United States it is sacred. That is why the US Supreme Court could declare 20 years ago that to lose freedom of expression, for even minimal periods of time, "unquestionably constitutes irreparable injury".

To arrive at the American level of safeguards, we would have to write Article 10 of the European Convention of Human Rights into British law. This states that "everyone has the right to freedom of expression... without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers". But it adds that "this article shall not prevent States from requiring the licensing of broadcasting, television or cinema enterprises". Newspapers are not on this list of media where special safeguards can be employed. Nor, according to the American court, should the Internet.

Insider – because small-engined cars are nearly always kitted out with nasty-to-touch, vile-smelling and ugly plastics, and fabrics adapted from high street branches of building societies – drivers and passengers are offered no soothing distraction from the racket raging under the bonnet. For this alone – aesthetic torture – the superluous company car should be taxed until its fan-belt squeals.

The danger is that those ignorant of the virtues of Bentleys and Jaguars. Deusenbergs and Hispano-Suizas will also tax these gentle giants off the road. If that day ever comes, I would still pay to visit a gallery (on foot, of course) displaying their magnificent engines, with Sir John Egan as knowledgeable company. No amount of horsepower, however, could drag me to a show of engines gouged from the likes of stressed-out Moncoes and Vectras.

Big engines make for happier motoring. Tax smaller company cars off the roads, says Jonathan Glancey

Why size really matters

Last month, Sir John Egan, chairman of British Airways, spoke on the future of transport in 21st-century London. Facts and figures at his fingertips, Sir John put the boot into the car, attacking this monstrous form of selfish urban locomotion. The tax 'em, ban 'em brigade was suitably encouraged. Yet when the debate was over and the crowds dispersed, Sir John was swept away in a gleaming new, chauffeur-driven 4.0-litre Jaguar Sovereign. Sir John must be finding it hard to escape his past as the former chairman of Jaguar, makers of big-engined luxury cars.

Sir John's choice of transport was particularly odd, because he was all but siding on every point in the debate with new Labour's transport policy, whose key feature is a big tax on cars with big engines.

I, however, share Sir John's quandary. Not only did I have a swanky, air-conditioned Jag of my own parked around the corner, but I have been a shameless fan of the lithe mechanical cats from Coventry since I first saw a brand new 3.8-litre Mk2 saloon purring

out of a garage showroom the summer before I started school. I believe that the 3.8-litre Jaguar twin-cam XK and the Jaguar V12 are two of the finest petrol engines ever built. I have driven, and even raced, many thousands of miles behind both over the past 15 years and have nothing but praise for their bravura engineering. I also happen to believe that big engines, whether a loafing American V8 or a fast-spinning BMW V12, make for better and happier motoring.

Before I am taken for some familiar of Steven Norris or an ecological terrorist, let me say, in politically correct mitigation, that I also burn up rect mitigation, that I also burn up shoe-leather rather than Dunlop rubber in city streets, take public transport whenever appropriate, ride bicycles to fits and spurts and thrill, as I did when a teenager, to day-long continental train journeys.

I am a committee member of the

new "London on Foot" campaign but also the proud owner of a second-hand Jaguar V12 Sovereign – 12 cylinders, 5.3 litres, 300 brake-horsepower, lashing bits of walnut and leather and a 37cwt body of sensually sculpted steel.

Of course the car, unbridled, is a monster. There is, however, every reason to lower road tax on cars like my own V12 Jag, while raising it on the nasty little sub-2000cc executive buzzboxes that scream past me at 100mph on the fast lane of motorways, driven almost exclusively by inadequate males (yes, I know what they say about men who drive cars, like Jaguars, with long bonnets) in the death throes of terminal road rage.

Give a car a small engine, a big body, a dashing Hugo Boss suit and a bootload of fish-paste samples, and its driver will thrash the thing within a square inch of its mechanical life.

The company car is a menace and

should be taxed to the point of extinction. Are tough, no-nonsense business executives incapable of buying their own cars? Are there no trains? It is time to clear our roads of cars in the 1300-2000cc business-class bracket, thus reducing at a stroke the national energy bill and putting an end to road rage.

The rest of us, cocooned in Jaguars and other big-hearted cars will purr along newly liberated highways and byways, content merely to caress our throttles and, in general, drive like genies of the old school. After all, when did you last see a big-engined car being driven maniacally? And, who could possibly get hot under the collar in a car like a V12 Jaguar, in which the volume of the radio does not need to be turned up as road speed increases?

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CITY & BUSINESS EDITOR: JEREMY WARNER

Clarke refuses cash to update job figures

DIANE COYLE
Economics Editor

The Chancellor is refusing to provide extra funds to implement improvements to the discredited claimant count method of producing the unemployment figures.

employment statistics. Kenneth Clarke is believed to have told official statisticians that they can only start to collect the more realistic figures if the cost can be saved from elsewhere in their budget.

The Office for National Statistics is due to announce its decision within the next two weeks. Officials suggest that the most likely choice is a cheaper half-way measure between the current figures and the preferred alternative of a full

monthly survey of the labour market. Tim Holt, director of the ONS, has always made it clear he shares the general view that the monthly claimant count measure of unemployment has been discredited by the number of changes made to the unemployment benefit system since 1979. Most of the changes, restricting the availability of benefit, have reduced the headline total.

A working party Dr Holt set up last summer recommended conducting the more reliable quarterly survey measure of unemployment every month, to provide a trustworthy alternative. Government statisticians believe the move will be essential to restore public confidence in the unemployment numbers.

Other supporters of a monthly survey include the Royal Statistical Society and the House of Commons Employment Select Committee. Both have concluded that the monthly claimant count is not widely trusted.

Even ministers acknowledge that there have been nine changes in definition which have affected the headline total, all except one reducing it. The ONS has recently had to scale back planned improvements to its collection of figures on the service industries, which are only scantily covered by official statistics despite accounting for two-thirds of the economy, due to budget stringencies.



Too costly: Kenneth Clarke has refused NSO £8m

Hopes fade of tunnel deal this week

PETER RODGERS
Financial Editor

Hopes that Eurotunnel will be able to report a deal over its £8bn debts at its annual meeting in Paris on Thursday have faded.

But negotiations with the company's top banks have never the less made progress in the last few days, leading to expectations that the two sides will be able to present outline plans to the rest of the banking syndicates next month.

Sir Alastair Morton and Patrick Ponsolle, the co-chairmen, will be under strong pressure from hundreds of angry French shareholders packed into the Palais des Congrès to give a progress report on the talks.

They may be unable to stay silent on progress, but at this stage the company is hoping not to have to give hostages to fortune by giving any detailed assurances.

It is thought that Eurotunnel and its creditors are in reach of an agreement that will hand more than 40 but less than 50 per cent of the equity in the company to its lenders, considerably more than the one-third stake that the company first pitched for.

In return for a lower immediate stake in the shares, the banks may be able to switch some of their debt into tradeable bonds and into convertible loans. The latter will be converted into equity if Eurotunnel fails to meet new financial targets.

The Eurotunnel share price has risen strongly over the last few weeks from 62p to 105p, valuing the company at just under £1bn, as shareholders banked on a favourable deal.

Among the items needing to be cleared up before a deal can be struck is agreement on lengthening the 57 year franchise, a move suggested to the British government by Jacques

Chirac, the French President. Although the UK was initially cool to the idea, it seems likely to back it as a cost-free way to the governments of giving the banks more certainty they will eventually be repaid.

Eurotunnel is also likely to win its demand for a lower interest rate on the debts, which will be rescheduled to delay capital repayments until the company is in a stronger financial position.

Sir Alastair Morton and Patrick Ponsolle have been arguing strongly for a reduction in the cost of the loans which were fixed at the rates needed to finance a speculative construction project. Now the tunnel is completed and working, they argue, a lower interest rate is appropriate.

There was a clear indication last week that the negotiations will continue into next month, when Jean-Pierre Mattei, president of the Paris commercial court, said he would decide soon on a possible extension of the mandate of the two mediators appointed by the court, Lord Wakeham and Robert Badinter. Their original appointment runs out at the end of June, and he said it would be continued if there were reasonable chances of a solution.

He also made clear that if talks failed and Eurotunnel went bust it would create a "legal monster", particularly if the banks try to enforce their contractual right to take over the tunnel operations from Eurotunnel, known as substitution. Mr Mattei said the mediators had tried to impress on the banks "that there have to be other solutions than involving the substitution clause".

An outline agreement with the four agent banks, NatWest, Midland, Crédit Lyonnais and Banque Nationale de Paris, will probably take until the end of the year to finalise. The agents may not announce proposals until they have the backing of the rest of the 25 lead banks.

Music firm hopes to set tills jingling with 'War of the Worlds' rock show



Melody maker: Jeff Wayne plans to raise £4m for expansion at the UK's biggest producer of advertising jingles

AIM attracts three newcomers

A clutch of three new AIM flotations announced yesterday included Jeff Wayne Music, which will be the only pure music industry investment on the Stock Exchange apart from the media industry, writes Peter Rodgers.

The company is the UK's biggest producer of advertising jingles, with 8,000 ads under its belt, and is raising £4m in a placing that values the group at up to £13m. It will use most of the money to promote expansion in the US and Europe.

About £500,000 of the proceeds will also be used to fund the development of a world tour based on Jeff Wayne's financially successful but otherwise unremarkable rock musical version of HG Wells' *War of the Worlds*, which has sold 6 million albums since 1978.

The prospectus is likely to describe this tour, a large-scale hit-tech sound and light show, as a high-risk venture. As well as producing advertising soundtracks for big agencies, Jeff Wayne Music runs a research service for clients looking for existing music for film and TV, and a multimedia division producing and supervising soundtracks for businesses other than advertising. Durlacher is nominated broker to the issue.

Chemical Design Holdings is raising up to £1.5m in a placing on AIM, through the same two firms. It will be valued at about £5m. Chemical designs and supplies software for pharmaceutical and biotechnology firms, for use in techniques that aid the production of large numbers of new compounds.

For every new drug on the market, 10,000 different compounds must be made and tested for biological activity. Clients include Hoechst Marion Roussel, Glaxo Wellcome, Rhône-Poulenc Rorer, Pfizer, and Peptide Therapeutics. The third flotation is Cirqual, which makes aluminium and plastic extrusions and hopes to raise £2m-£5.8m by a placing through brokers Neilson Cobbold and advisers Price Waterhouse Corporate Finance.

The flotation is expected to value Cirqual, a group put together from existing businesses only last year by the investment group Gartland Whalley and Baker, at £16m-£20m.

The chairman is Tony Gartland, who oversaw the rapid growth of FKI, where he was chief executive in the 1980s. The placing is to reduce borrowings and allow the company to make new acquisitions. AIM celebrated its first anniversary last Wednesday.

Watchdog looks at complaints over Wace accounting policy

PATRICK TOOHER

The City's accounts watchdog, the Financial Reporting Review Panel, is examining complaints over accounting policies at Wace, the specialist printing and imaging group, that may have boosted the level of profits declared in the company's latest annual report.

It comes just a month after Wace, a former darling of the stock market, issued a profits warning that sent its shares into virtual free-fall, wiping almost £60m off the company's stock market value.

Wace's annual report, signed off three months ago by auditors Arthur Andersen, shows the company made £20.5m pre-tax last year, down from

£23.1m as restated for 1994. However, the panel is understood to be looking into the way a series of acquisitions and disposals made during the period were treated in the accounts. There is no suggestion of any impropriety.

The biggest of Wace's deals last year was Ferry Pickering, the packaging and folded cartons group bought for £26.4m in December. Documents sent to the panel highlight compensation payments made to Ferry Pickering's executive directors that appear to overstate Wace's profits in 1995 by £579,000. These payments, £54,000 higher than set out in an earlier offer document for Ferry Pickering sent to Wace's shareholders, were treated as fair value ad-

justments in Wace's accounts. Under UK accounting standards, as defined in FR57 which Wace says it has adopted, these should be treated as post-acquisition costs and taken as a charge against profits rather than through the balance sheet.

Among other items drawn to the panel's attention is the disposal of Wace's German and Italian imaging businesses, Beckmann and Colorlux. Wace yesterday defended its accounting policies. "We've got nothing to hide," said finance director Steve Puckett. "Our accounts have been properly prepared and comply with all accounting standards, including FR57." He added that Wace had heard nothing from the panel about its accounting methods.

CLT set to join bidders for London FM radio licence

MATHEW HORSMAN
Media Editor

CLT, the Luxembourg-based broadcaster, is expected this week to confirm it is bidding for the hotly contested London FM licence, offering a "pop music format similar to its successful Atlantic 252 station." The group joins a range of media companies angling for the licence, possibly the last FM frequency in London to be awarded along the conventional radio spectrum. Industry executives expect at least 20 applications to be lodged by the time the deadline expires on 9 July.

Among other hopefuls is Capital Gold, currently broadcasting on AM, whose backers hope to move the service to FM

in a bid to improve transmission quality. Capital, the dominant commercial radio company in London, would return its AM frequency to the Radio Authority if it wins the FM licence.

"Capital Gold is just not very satisfying on AM," Richard Park, group director of programming at Capital Radio, said late last week. "AM is just not the appropriate place for a Gold format." He said that the station's playlist of hits from the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s needed the higher standard of FM to win bigger audiences and compete effectively with BBC Radio.

Other likely bidders for the London licence include Black FM, Choice, and Festival, a listings and entertainment channel backed by Time Out, the

London listings magazine. An early favourite in radio circles is XFM, which is aiming at a youth audience. Also likely to apply is Zone FM, a gay channel.

Under changes to the Broadcasting Bill, now being debated, radio companies will be allowed for the first time to hold two FM licences in a single region, following intense lobbying from companies such as Capital. The new freedom could encourage other holders of FM licences in London to apply.

The Authority, which is expected to take three months to reach a decision, uses three broad criteria for the award: financial viability, broadening choice, and enhancing fair and effective competition.

RAILTRACK

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STOCK MARKETS

FTSE 100

Indices

| Index | Close | Week's chg | Change (%) | 1996 High | 1996 Low | YTD (%) |
|--------------|----------|------------|------------|-----------|----------|---------|
| FTSE 100 | 3722.30 | -31.3 | -0.8 | 3657.10 | 3639.60 | 4.09 |
| FTSE 250 | 4440.70 | -23.9 | -0.5 | 4588.80 | 4015.30 | 3.40 |
| FTSE 350 | 1883.60 | -14.6 | -0.8 | 1945.40 | 1816.80 | 3.94 |
| FT Small Cap | 2232.44 | -7.5 | -0.3 | 2244.36 | 1954.06 | 2.91 |
| FT All Share | 1870.80 | -13.8 | -0.7 | 1924.17 | 1791.95 | 3.88 |
| New York | 5705.23 | +55.8 | +1.0 | 5778.00 | 5032.94 | 2.18 |
| Tokyo | 22698.98 | +309.6 | +1.4 | 22698.98 | 19724.70 | 0.71 |
| Hong Kong | 10855.29 | -9.7 | -0.1 | 11594.99 | 10204.87 | 3.36 |
| Frankfurt | 2540.11 | -8.7 | -0.3 | 2570.78 | 2253.36 | 1.85 |

Source: FT Information

INTEREST RATES

UK interest rates

US interest rates

Money Market Rates

| Index | 1 Month | 3 Month | 6 Month | 1 Year |
|---------|---------|---------|---------|--------|
| UK | 5.69 | 6.81 | 8.03 | 8.16 |
| US | 5.41 | 6.81 | 8.03 | 8.16 |
| Japan | 0.47 | 1.13 | 3.29 | 2.68 |
| Germany | 3.41 | 3.72 | 6.61 | 6.75 |

Bond Yields

| Index | 1 Year | 2 Year | 3 Year | 5 Year | 10 Year |
|---------|--------|--------|--------|--------|---------|
| UK | 8.03 | 8.16 | 8.14 | 8.23 | 8.23 |
| US | 5.41 | 6.81 | 8.03 | 8.16 | 8.16 |
| Japan | 0.47 | 1.13 | 3.29 | 2.68 | 2.68 |
| Germany | 3.41 | 3.72 | 6.61 | 6.75 | 6.75 |

MAIN PRICE CHANGES

| Index | 1 Week | 1 Month | 3 Month | 6 Month | 1 Year |
|-----------------|--------|---------|---------|---------|--------|
| Wap Group | 209 | 14 | 7.2 | 14.5 | 33 |
| NFC | 187 | 11 | 6.3 | 14.5 | 33 |
| Wimpey (George) | 149 | 8 | 5.7 | 14.5 | 33 |

CURRENCIES

£/\$

£/DM

Pound vs.

| Index | 1 Week | 1 Month | 3 Month | 6 Month | 1 Year |
|--------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|--------|
| £ (London) | 1.5402 | +0.020 | 1.5645 | 0.6493 | -0.13 |
| £ (New York) | 1.5380 | +0.020 | 1.5666 | 0.6502 | -0.08 |
| DM (London) | 2.3647 | +1.41p | 2.425 | 1.5299 | +0.03p |
| ¥ (London) | 167.861 | +0.756 | 156.09 | 108.990 | +0.265 |
| ₹ (London) | 85.9 | +0.3 | 86.5 | 97.2 | +0.1 |

Dollar vs.

| Index | 1 Week | 1 Month | 3 Month | 6 Month | 1 Year |
|--------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|--------|
| £ (London) | 0.6493 | -0.13 | 0.639 | 0.6493 | -0.13 |
| £ (New York) | 0.6502 | -0.08 | 0.638 | 0.6502 | -0.08 |
| DM (London) | 1.5299 | +0.03p | 1.55 | 1.5299 | +0.03p |
| ¥ (London) | 108.990 | +0.265 | 99.77 | 108.990 | +0.265 |
| ₹ (London) | 97.2 | +0.1 | 96.1 | 97.2 | +0.1 |

OTHER INDICATORS

| Index | 1 Week | 1 Month | 3 Month | 6 Month | 1 Year |
|-----------|--------|---------|---------|------------|--------|
| Oil Brent | 18.06 | +0.21 | 16.30 | 192.9 | +2.20p |
| Gold | 363.65 | -0.50 | 389.75 | 130.3 | +1.10p |
| Gold E | 246.09 | -0.84 | 242.97 | Base Rates | -5.75p |

صكنا من الامل

A basic arithmetic refresher for 11 Downing St



GAVYN DAVIES

'Unless the next government can summon up even more political muscle to cut the share of the state than Mrs Thatcher managed, there will only be one option left - to increase the burden of tax'

Although the desperation for tax cuts within the Tory Party seems to have diminished a notch or two during the past few months (reflecting the recovery in the consumer sector, and especially in housing), I doubt whether the idea has really dawned on the backbenches that the long-awaited tax cuts could be tiny or even non-existent. With the possibility of a disappointing Budget looming in November, it may even be crossing the Prime Minister's mind that an autumn election might not be such a bad idea, as the outstanding Bagehot (alias David Lipsey) pointed out in his column in the *Economist* last week.

Bagehot's arguments are that the Government already risks being pushed by the Ulster Unionists, or even by its own unreliable supporters, into an election at a particularly bad moment; that the recent *sauvage* of weak government is not helping the Tories' political standing, anyway; that the economy may look at its best this autumn, but then lose its gloss during the winter; and that John Major may feel an obligation in the national interest to end the present drift.

Granted, his party will make mincemeat of Mr Major if he loses the election, whenever it is held. But can any party leader voluntarily go to the country when the most likely outcome is annihilation when the consumer is enjoying a strong recovery, and when the natural trend in government support towards the end of a Parliament has always been strongly upwards? Some estimates suggest that the underlying support for the Tories should now be rising by as much as a full percentage point per month as a result of improving consumer confidence, and the normal uptrend in government support as the election approaches.

Others take a more fatalistic view, arguing that the Conservatives are destined to get the same share of the vote whenever the election is held - say around 36-39 per cent, the hard core for Tory support in the post-war period.

But, even so, an October election would leave plenty of Tories claiming that another six months would have tipped the balance, or would at least have severely curtailed the Labour majority. And, what is more, they could be right. Hanging on to the bitter end may not be an attractive option, but it is the one which his party will expect Mr Major to pursue.

So a Budget probably needs to be planned for November. This is looking trickier by the month. The PSBR or budget deficit has been misbehaving for some time, which is unusual in a period of continuous economic growth. Last year, the eventual out-turn for the PSBR was £32bn, about £10bn more than the Treasury had expected a year earlier.

Around two-thirds of this £10bn was due to the mysterious disappearance of VAT receipts, which is still not well understood in Whitehall, but which must now be reflected in the projections for future years.

The worsening PSBR problems are likely to come into sharp political focus on 9 July. That is when the Treasury will publish its Summer Forecast, which will have

to come clean about the latest official projections for the budget deficit in the next two years. According to David Walton of Goldman Sachs, a combination of lower underlying tax receipts, slower economic growth and slightly higher public spending means that the path for the PSBR shown in the November 1995 Budget will have to be increased by about £5bn a year.

This would leave the likely projection in the Summer Forecast at £27bn this year, and £20bn next year. It would also delay the achievement of budget balance, which is Mr Clarke's long-term target. Furthermore, while this is likely to be the Treasury's forecast, the eventual out-turn is expected by most City economists to be much higher still. For example, Goldman Sachs expects the PSBR to

be stuck at around £28bn both this year and next (assuming a £3bn tax cut in the Budget). Against this background, it is hard to see how Mr Clarke can justify making anything more than the same kind of minimal tax reductions which so disappointed the public last year. In both of the last two years, modest scope for tax cuts has been found at the last minute by shaving public spending plans to reflect lower inflation, and by off-loading public investment plans to the Private Finance Initiative. Perhaps a bit more of this type of shuffling can be done again this year, but not much.

And the option of simply increasing the path for the PSBR on top of the slippage which has already occurred is not really on either. After all, the Chancellor has recently insisted on his way to emphasise that the objective of budget balance is a genuine one, and cannot be shifted around to suit the political convenience of the Conservatives. At Westminster, there is an infinite well of on both sides of the Chamber, with almost all MPs believing that, whatever Ken Clarke says today, he will find a way to make large tax cuts in November. I advise them to think again - this is not going to be a tax-cutter's year.

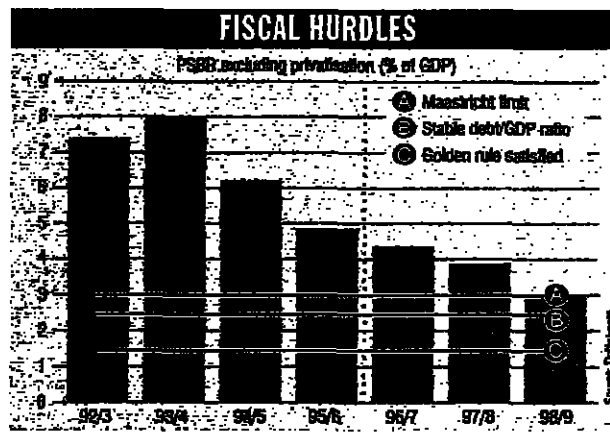
In fact, it is not going to be a tax-cutter's decade. The graph shows the likely path for the PSBR in the next three years, and compares it with some important benchmarks for fiscal policy. As we have noted already, the pre-

sent government's objective is a zero PSBR, but this will remain just a mirage in the next three years. If there is a change of government, Gordon Brown's fiscal objectives - first to stabilise the ratio of public debt/GDP, and second to ensure that the golden rule is satisfied by cutting the PSBR to below the total of government investment - are less stringent than the present Chancellor's. Yet neither looks likely to be attained before the end of the century. Even the Maastricht criterion may be out of reach over that period.

Naturally, all this will depend on whether the Government can keep tough control of public spending in the next few years. The present ambitious plans are based on the assumption that public spending will grow at about half the rate of GDP growth indefinitely into the future. But past evidence suggests that this will be quite impossible. A new paper on medium term fiscal policy by Stephen Hall, John O'Sullivan and Andrew Sentance of the LBS reminds us that, even in the era of Margaret Thatcher, the growth of real spending could not be held below that of real GDP, except by making large and unrepeatable cuts in public investment. All other areas of spending have stubbornly kept pace with GDP since 1979, despite herculean political efforts to cut the share of the state in national income.

Unless the next government can summon up even more political muscle to cut the share of the state than Mrs Thatcher managed, there will only be one option left - to increase the burden of tax.

And that piece of basic arithmetic will apply, whoever is next to hold the reins at No 11 Downing Street.



Change or die: Carlo de Benedetti sees need for radical reform Photograph: Reuters

Why Europe is sick man of the world

Carlo de Benedetti, chairman of the Italian Olivetti group, outlines a five-point plan for renaissance

Worrying signals are coming from the European economy. The sluggish recovery that began at the end of 1993 appears stalled. In many industries demand is faltering even before it reaches pre-recession levels. Germany has "technically" entered a recession; France, Italy and Spain are stagnating.

Estimates that six months ago predicted European growth for 1996 at around 2.5 per cent have been halved. Unemployment levels, currently about 11 per cent - way above that of the US and Japan - are a permanent threat to prospects of social and economic recovery.

This premature slowdown of the economic cycle is a symptom of structural weakness. Europe is not keeping up in a world of global competition it is falling behind, squeezed between traditional rivals and a growing number of new, aggressive players.

National disputes must not divert politicians' attention from the key problem: how to restore Europe's competitiveness within an international scene that changes daily.

On the economic front, two main factors have allowed us to fall behind: market globalisation and the unprecedented wave of technological progress.

On their own, European countries cannot tackle the

challenge of a global economy. The only practical solution is economic integration. Similarly, the only sound answer to the technological revolution is to adopt a new economic and social model, more focused on knowledge, communication and new technologies (the so-called "information society").

In terms of the velocity and magnitude of change, the European Union's reactions have been slow and weak. Even the Intergovernmental Conference, launched last March, is regarded with indifference by member states and public opinion alike.

This conference is miles from confronting the two crucial issues: the means by which a European government can be created and the framework for a

common defence and foreign policy.

What is needed is a "European renaissance" - a programme of concrete actions that will relaunch European integration and recreate the sense of a "new frontier", a frontier for which commitment and sacrifices are worthwhile and in which everyone - individuals and businesses - can feel involved.

The goal is a new Europe, richer in knowledge, ideas, employment and development.

In 1992 the concept of a single currency promised a new phase in European integration. But the Europe of Maastricht has been unable to win consensus and enthusiasm.

Europeans fear the single currency will only bring new tax

es and cuts in welfare spending. The plan for monetary union is stale. It must be reinforced by a programme of new initiatives:

- eliminate protectionism, monopolies, red tape and regulatory blocks which kill entrepreneurialism and curb the creation of new jobs;
- enhance flexibility and transparency in the labour market;
- promote new technologies and construct innovative infrastructure and service networks;
- encourage investment in education and training - young people being the most precious strategic resource;
- promote the birth of new enterprises: the main source of innovation and jobs.

To give this programme momentum, clear objectives with

precise deadlines must be set and progress should be gauged by benchmarking against global competition. Goals need to be measured in terms of their actual benefits.

The European Union's plans for the liberalisation of telecommunications are, I believe, a good example of what needs to be done. European policy on telecommunications has fixed terms and deadlines: it has guided and determined the decisions of national governments and it has created a sense of urgency in terms of government action, corporate decisions and public expectations.

Europe has little time left to decide its future. European citizens seem more conscious of this today than many politicians. I hope the debate in the future will belie this judgement, and provide a new platform for European development, ever more grounded in free markets, knowledge and innovation.

A wall of silence on Sumitomo

VIEW FROM TOKYO

As officials from Britain's Serious Fraud Office fly into Tokyo this week, the Great Sumitomo Copper debacle remains surrounded by a fog of unanswered questions.

It is understood the SFO will want to interview Sumitomo officials and the Japanese authorities but it was not clear whether they would meet Yasuo Hamanaka, the trader at the centre of the affair.

Their arrival coincided with news that gave a sombre new dimension to the investigations under way in the US, Japan and London. Police may reopen inquiries into the death in a house fire in Vermont five years ago of Paul Scully, a copper trader who was one of the first to complain to the authorities about Mr Yamanaka's activities.

Some reports suggest that Sumitomo's losses could more than double to \$4bn as copper prices continue to tumble. But the essentials of what is known about the case so far could be written on the back of an envelope. Mr Yamanaka's deals were known to no one else, according to Sumitomo, except for a mysterious unnamed employee who quit the corporation eight years ago.

The company remains in sound shape and is presently investigating the case, along with regulators in New York and London, and the Serious Fraud Office. This much was revealed in a press release put out by Sumitomo after close of trading in New York on 13 June. Since then almost nothing substantive has been added to the account.

How exactly did Mr Hamanaka conceal his losses? How did he fund them, and most important of all, who gained the money which he lost?

Sumitomo is not talking. British diplomats in Tokyo are not talking. The Japanese ministries, who take an overbearing close interest in the conduct of their companies when times are good, insist that it is none of their business.

Mr Hamanaka himself seems for the time being to have disappeared into the fugitive limbo inhabited by Lord Lucan, Elvis Presley and the Marie Celeste.

For enlightenment, it is natural to turn to the people who really know about these matters - the Japanese media. Japan's newspapers and TV news stations are the richest, most highly staffed, most widely circulated and watched in the world. But not one significant nugget of news or insight into the Sumitomo affair has been unearthed by Japanese journalists.

Apart from tracking the movements of Sumitomo's share price, lobbying anonymous questions at Sumitomo representatives at official press conferences, and running background features on the London Metal Exchange and the copper industry, they have been almost entirely passive. Last week the story - about the biggest loss of its kind, suffered by one of Japan's might-

est and best respected corporations - was buried beneath reports of a domestic air crash and the Prime Minister's visit to South Korea. For several days, the leads in the business pages were reshuffles from the London and New York papers.

In Japan, every significant politician, every big company, every police department is host to a "kisha club" - a team of reporters who are assigned full-time to walk, talk, eat and drink with their news sources.

It is inconceivable that these men (they are overwhelmingly male) do not have an idea of what is going on inside Sumitomo. But the role of media in Japan is very different from that in the West, and nowhere is this seen more clearly than in business and financial coverage.

A press officer in a big Japanese corporation in Tokyo speaks with disbelief of the authority wielded by his colleagues. Official company announcements

are revealed to the kisha club weeks in advance; then follows a period of intense horse-trading as the company press officers lobby for their announcement to be published more prominently than those of rival corporations.

After consultation with their editors, the reporters return with a proposal detailing the page, column and prominence to be given to each news release, which will be published almost verbatim. "If it doesn't appear exactly as agreed," says the press officer, "there are complaints and tantrums. It's unbelievable: these reporters have to apologise and give an account of themselves to the PRs."

Japanese reporters enjoy unprecedented access to corporate goings on. But they are tolerated only on condition that they never report anything remotely controversial or damaging.

As conspiracies go, it is an informal one, depending more on the instinctive caution and self-censorship of individual reporters and editors than on any conscious suppression of facts - Japanese reporters I spoke to last week seemed as puzzled as anyone about the death of investigation into Sumitomo.

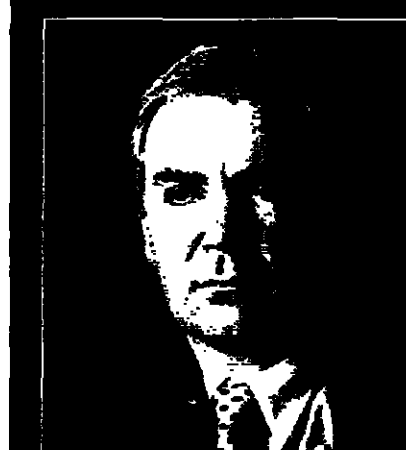
But there's something fishy about it, all the same. When Daiwa Bank suffered a similar \$1.1bn trading loss in New York last autumn, the story was tracked avidly in Japan. But the dodgy dealings in that case were carried out entirely overseas, by a long-term Japanese expatriate who had made America his home.

Yasuo Hamanaka, by contrast, was at the heart of the Tokyo financial establishment, and operated out of one of the corporate citadels of Japan Inc. Perhaps - it is no more than a suspicion - this accounts for the curious lethargy among the business media. Either way, when and if the truth finally comes out, it will be in spite, not because of, Japan News Inc.



Yasuo Hamanaka: Disappeared into a fugitive limbo

RICHARD LLOYD PARRY



Independent Newspapers Around the World

OPERATING HIGHLIGHTS

- Ireland**
 - Ireland's largest newspaper publishing Group.
 - Increased contribution from publishing operations.
 - Share of national newspapers' advertising revenue increased.
 - Second largest multi-channel television signal distribution company (Princes Holdings - 50% owned).
 - Launch of British edition of The Sunday Independent.
- United Kingdom**
 - Purchase of business and titles of London Recorder Newspapers, Limited.
 - Purchase of interest of its partner, Daily Mail and General Trust PLC, in The Commuter Publishing Partnership.
 - Increase interest to 43% in Newspaper Publishing, London - publisher of 'The Independent' and 'The Independent on Sunday'.
 - Buspak UK (50% owned) expanded through the acquisition of Metrobus.
- Portugal**
 - Increase shareholding to 11.8% in Jornalgeste SGPS, the largest newspaper publishing group in Portugal, with additional interests in commercial radio.
- France**
 - Formation of Sirocco International, a jointly owned 50/50 venture between Sirocco, a subsidiary of Independent Newspapers, PLC and Avenir Havas Media, the largest outdoor advertising company in France.
- New Zealand**
 - Purchase of 45.15% interest in Wilson & Horton, the largest newspaper publisher in New Zealand by Independent Press Limited (A joint venture with Ligon 157 Pty Limited).
 - Investment in Radio New Zealand Commercial, largest radio network controlling 41 radio stations, which account for 47% of the total radio advertising spend.
- Australia**
 - Australian Provincial Newspapers net profit increases 24% to A\$26.4 million (25% indirect holding).
 - Joint venture formed with Clear Channel Communications Inc., the largest owner of radio stations in the US, to operate its radio network.
 - Largest publisher of specialist publications and commercial journals, with 50 titles now under its control.
- South Africa**
 - Increased shareholding in Independent Newspapers Holdings Limited, formerly Argus Newspapers to 59.55%, the largest newspaper group in Africa.
 - Launch of three new titles, The Sunday Independent, Sunday Life and Business Report. Re-launch of The Cape Times and The Mercury.

| FINANCIAL HIGHLIGHTS | | | |
|------------------------|----------|----------|-------|
| | 1995 | 1994 | |
| Turnover | IRE£368m | IRE£271m | + 36% |
| Operating Profit | IRE£49m | IRE£41m | + 21% |
| Profit before Taxation | IRE£50m | IRE£38m | + 33% |
| Earnings per Share | 25.16p | 20.00p | + 26% |
| Dividends per Share | 10.0p | 8.5p | + 18% |
| Shareholders' Funds | IRE£287m | IRE£247m | + 16% |

INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPERS, PLC

Full financial statements for the year ended 29 December 1995 will be delivered to the Registrar of Companies and carry an unqualified Audit Report. Copies of the Report may be obtained from The Secretary, Independent Newspapers, PLC, 1-3 Upper Hatch Street, Dublin 2.

business

The boss of More O'Ferrall talks to **Mathew Horsman** about his enthusiasm for selling the great outdoors

Sites set on a roller-poster success story

Next to television, radio, and even dear old newspapers, the outdoor advertising market strikes most outsiders as well, dull and old-fashioned. Its image of man on a ladder with paste and brush hardly inspires the breathlessness with which media-mad investors pant hungrily over the likes of the Internet or satellite television.

Perhaps they have not met Roger Parry, 43, the ex-journalist chief executive of leading outdoor advert company More O'Ferrall, and a compelling preacher of the attractions of bus shelters and billboards.

THE MONDAY INTERVIEW ROGER PARRY

Coming away from an encounter with Mr Parry, one is suddenly struck by how many adverts there are in the street — on buildings, on billboards, and More O'Ferrall's specialism, on bus shelters. "Outdoors sells," Mr Parry sums up, in the epitome of the soundbite.

The company has 30,000 of its trademark Adshel shelters installed, and has plans to expand further in the UK, Ireland, Europe and further overseas, where it is eyeing fast-growing markets such as Thailand and Malaysia. "A lot of our growth will come from outside the UK," Mr Parry says, revealing a target of £100m in sales, up from last year's £87m.

Certainly Mr Parry has given investors something to be cheerful about since he formally became chief executive in February. The shares have soared ahead from the 470p level to more than 660p, fuelled by a strong recovery in the company's financial performance and the prospects of further growth.

The City credits Mr Parry with having awakened the rather staid company, which for years had a reputation that even insiders conceded as sleepy, even if it had a stellar portfolio of sites and lucrative contracts with transport authorities and local councils.

The changes he has wrought have been subtle. A revamped

office environment, reducing the palatial dimensions of his predecessor's extensive lair, is perhaps the most obvious alteration. Mr Parry has also had an Adshel-festooned shelter installed on the ground floor, "to tell visitors and to remind staff exactly what it is we do," he says. Under Russell Gore-Andrews, his somewhat stolid predecessor, "there was no sign that we were an outdoor advertising company."

He has also hastened the development of a new computer system to track and monitor sites. "We can now tell clients how

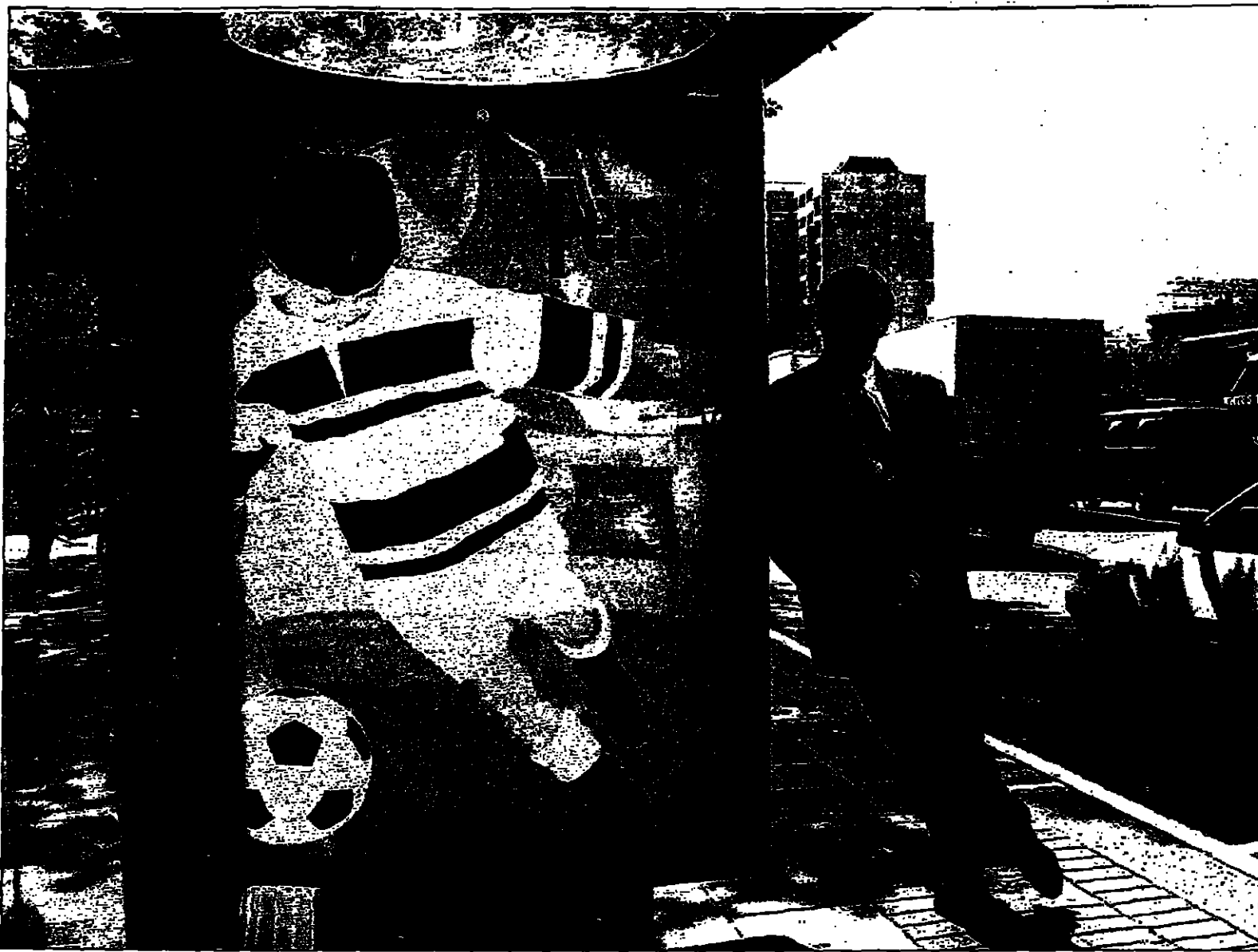
many sites nationwide are within 50 feet of a NatWest bank branch, for example, or how to reach young people by advertising outside clubs and cinemas."

More O'Ferrall has also pioneered the use of bar codes on sites, as a way of keeping tabs on poster campaigns.

Such changes have started to give media buyers more confidence in the poster business. Mr Parry expects that forecasts of reasonably good consumer spending growth, coupled with outdoor advertising's more dynamic reputation among advertisers and agencies, will drive the business in the future.

He is nearly messianic on outdoor's attractions. "We need to show advertisers that we can be as effective as television," he says. Outdoor campaigns are perfect, he claims, for reaching a mass audience for new product launches. But more targeted campaigns can also be accommodated, through careful selection of sites.

To the likely relief of environmentalists, he is dead



Gimme shelter: Roger Parry joins with environmentalists in opposing an uncontrolled proliferation of sites

Photograph: Jane Baker

date for the top job. A graduate of Bristol University, he spent a summer working as personal assistant to Charles and Maurice Saatchi, his first taste of advertising, before completing his studies at Oxford. A career in journalism saw him specialise in business, a grounding that stiffened an already strong entrepreneurial bent. In 1982, while still a working journalist, he helped launch an unsuccessful bid for the LBC radio franchise in London.

Two years later, he tried to convince the Government to sell British Rail's Slough-to-Windsor line to a consortium he helped fashion. Speaking recently at his Golden Square offices in Soho, next door to the new, lavish Saatchi brothers' headquarters, he concedes that his rail privatisation bid came "10 years too early."

Like so many other soon-to-be corporate executives, Mr Parry used a stint at a management consultancy, McKinsey, as the bridge to the business world, joining advertising company WCRS (later Aegis) after four years as a consultant. The City got to

"One of the lessons of Aegis was that focus brought success," Mr Parry says. "The original company was a super-market which we decided needed to focus on being solely a media buyer, with the goal of becoming Europe's leader." He

owns the Jazz FM station. Head-hunted in 1995, he says he immediately saw the need for focus at More O'Ferrall. While other companies might look to diversify into other media, Mr Parry says he will stay with what the compa-

ny does best. "We don't need to be some full-service company. If shareholders want to invest in other media, they can do it. They don't need me to do it for them."

So Mr Parry will stick to the more prosaic task of growing the outdoor business, organically and through acquisition. He puts a big emphasis on re-

search and responsiveness to clients, and is eager to trial new formats such as flat-screen TVs in bus shelters.

His enthusiasm shows. But does he miss journalism? "Sure, I miss the adrenalin and the risk — having to get it finished by 9pm. I also miss the level of access: we could and did talk directly to people in industry."

Now that he is one of those people in industry, he seems content to stay where he is. Ten years ago, he said he wanted to be the chief executive of a plc by the time he was 40. Having just about done it (he was 42 when appointed), he says "this is all fantastic fun. If it goes wrong, I'll have only myself to blame."

The only goal these days is to get it right. "We just aim to be the best outdoor advertising company in the world."

'If shareholders want to invest in other media, they can do it. They don't need me to do it for them'

went on to concentrate on radio, the country's fastest-growing advertising medium, and was part of the group that successfully bid for the LBC franchise in 1993.

Mr Parry and his partners sold out to Reuters, although he has maintained his interest through a non-executive directorship at Golden Rose,

know him as the calming public face of Aegis in the UK, at the time when the French-owned group was floundering badly. He spent a critical three years in the early 1990s convincing City investors that Aegis could survive, despite the nearly disastrous acquisition binge that ended several careers in 1992.

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Loyalty cards underline the dilemma facing Archie's revitalised Asda

Well, as some suggest, the party over for Archie Norman? This week the man who revitalised the Asda superstores group will announce a scintillating set of results but may find it difficult to satisfy a growing stock market suspicion the group is set for a much more sedate time.

Since he moved in Asda's progress has been breathtaking in what is one of the toughest businesses in the land.

The once proud retail chain, born out of a dairy operation, seemed on the rocky road to oblivion.

The shares bumped along at a humble 23p and it had acquired a jokey, cloth-camp image making it the target for many a stand-up comedian.

Under the Norman touch the change in Asda's fortunes has been dramatic. Now the group is a superstore front-runner. But is the pace beginning to tell?

NatWest Securities was the first to raise doubts. In May it lowered its growth targets because of disappointing clothing sales, a reduced store opening programme and escalating overheads. Although analysts Tony MacNeary and Mike Dennis were then prepared to stick with their £304m forecast for the year ended April they have had second thoughts and trimmed their estimate to £297m.

Even so, such a result would represent a not inconsiderable 18 per cent gain, well in line with Asda's high-performance profile.

Still, it could be argued that Mr Norman and his team have completed the easy part of the revival.

They have refocused the group, reshaped its organisation and given it a remarkable air of confidence and reliability. It has also emerged as the leading price-cutter and probably the most customer-

friendly in the industry. Now Asda's management has to raise its game.

Philip Dorgan at Société Générale Strauss Turbott outlines the challenge. He says: "Long-term success depends upon the establishment of genuine points of difference."

"Asda needs to become the best in the industry in areas other than price because, as its sales densities narrow the gap with Tesco and its cost ratios fall, there is a natural limit to the extent that its operating margin can rise, given that it maintains its price advantage. It therefore needs to seek ways to enhance its margin mix". He is looking for profits, due on Thursday, to "easily exceed" his £300m forecast.

The Asda dilemma is not helped by the advent of loyalty cards. So far it has not been tempted into a full-scale launch although it is testing the concept in some stores. An



Asda card could, however, undermine its policy of being the deepest of the superstore price-cutters.

The group can look forward

STOCK MARKET WEEK

DEREK PAIN

Stock market reporter of the year

to at least one windfall this year. It has 40 per cent of Allied Carpets, due to be floated in the next month or so. The share sale could produce £80m, assuming Asda sells all its Allied shares.

Asda shares are near their highest under the Norman reign. The chain has a stock market valuation approaching £3.5bn. NatWest regards the shares as no more than a hold but SocGen is still a buyer.

Tomorrow a very different and smaller group produces results. Balma, valued at nearly £500m, is an engineer, largely involved in environmental controls and safety devices. It, too, has an outstanding reputation to maintain.

The company has an enviable record - profits advancing for 20 years and the dividend inevitably lifted by 20 per cent.

Halma has never adopted a very high profile and is little known outside the market. It could be described as the conglomerate nobody has heard about. Yet by dominating niche businesses, able to sell products equally well at home and overseas, as well as putting through some rewarding takeovers it has kept profits moving.

Although its shares are below their peak another strong performance is expected. NatWest is looking for £34m against £29.2m with a dividend of 2.565p a share - giving the traditional 20 per cent increase.

Last week was another unexciting one for the market and with the continuing array of sporting attractions and the lack of investor interest

there is little hope this week will produce much action.

Footsie is still well below the 4,000 points level many have embraced as their year-end target. Quite clearly it will have to enjoy a strong second six months to offer the bulls any success.

The market, not for the first time and certainly not for the last, has failed to perform to the anticipated pattern. A strong first-half year was expected to be followed by a weak second six months.

The blue chip index has, however, had an indifferent first six months with Footsie only 45 points above the level it started the year, although the supporting FT-SE 250 index has conformed much more to expectations, up more than 400 points.

But the second-liners are running out of steam. They have had a surprisingly uncertain time since the 250 index peaked at 4,568.5 towards

the end of April. The market has suffered in recent months from significant domestic selling which does, however, seem to be ending.

The jittery global bond markets, inflationary worries and the political climate have also taken their toll. So has the failure of the expected takeover bonanza to extend beyond utilities.

The bulls do, however, have their own positive agenda. They point to an encouraging profit outlook for next year's estimates being raised, the possibility of yet another interest rate cut and tentative signs of a gilt rally. And, of course, bid hopes spring eternal.

Even so, unless they can discover a few more encouraging indicators it is beginning to look as if the market will at best drift for the rest of the year and it may not be long before the bulls start retreating in their forecasts.

| Alcoholic Beverages | | | |
|-------------------------|--------|-----|-----|
| Asda | 23.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Brewery | 15.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Distillers | 12.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Wine | 10.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Banks, Merchant | | | |
| Barclays | 120.00 | 100 | 100 |
| HSBC | 110.00 | 100 | 100 |
| NatWest | 100.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Banks, Retail | | | |
| Asda | 23.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Next | 15.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Primark | 12.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Breweries, Pubs & Rest | | | |
| Asda | 23.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Next | 15.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Primark | 12.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Diversified Industrials | | | |
| Asda | 23.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Next | 15.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Primark | 12.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Engineering Vehicles | | | |
| Asda | 23.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Next | 15.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Primark | 12.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Extractive Industries | | | |
| Asda | 23.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Next | 15.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Primark | 12.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Food Manufacturers | | | |
| Asda | 23.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Next | 15.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Primark | 12.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Gas Distribution | | | |
| Asda | 23.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Next | 15.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Primark | 12.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Health Care | | | |
| Asda | 23.00 | 100 | 100 |
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| Primark | 12.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Household Goods | | | |
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| Investment Companies | | | |
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| Investment Trusts | | | |
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| Primark | 12.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Leisure & Hotels | | | |
| Asda | 23.00 | 100 | 100 |
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| Primark | 12.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Media | | | |
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| Primark | 12.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Oil Exploration | | | |
| Asda | 23.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Next | 15.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Primark | 12.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Oil, Integrated | | | |
| Asda | 23.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Next | 15.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Primark | 12.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Other Financial | | | |
| Asda | 23.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Next | 15.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Primark | 12.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Pharmaceuticals | | | |
| Asda | 23.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Next | 15.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Primark | 12.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Printing & Paper | | | |
| Asda | 23.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Next | 15.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Primark | 12.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Retailers, Food | | | |
| Asda | 23.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Next | 15.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Primark | 12.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Retailers, General | | | |
| Asda | 23.00 | 100 | 100 |
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| Primark | 12.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Textiles & Apparel | | | |
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| Water | | | |
| Asda | 23.00 | 100 | 100 |
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| Support Services | | | |
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| Government Securities | | | |
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| Shorts | | | |
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| Next | 15.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Primark | 12.00 | 100 | 100 |
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| Next | 15.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Primark | 12.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Longs | | | |
| Asda | 23.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Next | 15.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Primark | 12.00 | 100 | 100 |
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| Asda | 23.00 | 100 | 100 |
| Next | 15.00 | 100 | 100 |
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Lethal shock wave from an island in the sun

Volcanic activity on the Canary Isles could send a tidal wave to devastate Florida. **Phillip Henry** monitors the changing shape of La Palma

It reads like the plot from a disaster movie. Florida is devastated by a tidal wave tens of metres high. The destruction and loss of life is immeasurable. The wave which caused so much devastation crossed the Atlantic in just a few hours, unseen until it reached the American coast. Its source is an unstable geological fault on the Canary Isles, more usually thought of as an idyllic holiday destination of thousands of European tourists than as the cause of disaster.

To ensure such a scenario remains in the realms of Hollywood, a group of British scientists recently travelled to the Canaries. By monitoring the fault which threatens to create the tidal wave, they hope to predict any hazard long before it could happen.

In the middle of the ocean, these waves of mass destruction – called tsunamis – are almost invisible. Only when they reach the shallow waters around coasts do they become huge breakers.

The ruin caused by even a relatively small one can be apocalyptic. When the Krakatoa volcano blew itself to pieces in the last century, a tsunami six metres high killed 30,000 people.

Tsunamis can also be generated

when a huge landslide falls into the sea. This has never been seen in historical times but scientists have now identified the island of La Palma as a potential hazard.

There is a danger that the side of the volcano facing west may fall into the Atlantic, says Professor Bill McGuire of the Centre of Volcanic Research in Cheltenham, who was part of the recent expedition. "It could literally happen during the next few weeks or months or years," he said. "Equally, it could happen 100 years or more into the future. The island is very unstable and this is something which could happen fairly soon."

La Palma is not only the steepest island in the world but has also been the most volcanically active of the Canary Isles in the past 500 years. There have been two eruptions on the island this century alone – the last one was in 1971.

The volcanoes themselves do not present much danger. La Palma lava moves so slowly that most people could easily outrun it, so there is no cause for anxiety to the many tourists who visit the island. The real danger lies in the possibility that an eruption might trigger the collapse of a volcanic ridge which is unsound.

The problems started when an eruption in 1949 caused several

cubic kilometres of rock to slide a few metres toward the sea. This also opened a two-kilometre-long fracture which can quite easily be seen to this day.

There are not only fears that a future eruption would cause the rock to move again, but that next time, the landslide will not stop. If this happened, the resulting tsunami would be catastrophic.

"There have been three of these collapses in the history of the island," says Juan Carlos Carracedo of the Spanish National Research Council. Not only does the landscape bear the scars of these cataclysms but submarine photos show rock from the peaks of old volcanoes far out to sea. "Another collapse is impending. The only way to prevent this hazard is to study the island closely."

By monitoring the change in shape of the mountainside, the team hope not only to discover if the western flank is slipping due to gravity but to predict if the sleeping volcano is growing restless. Before eruptions, volcanoes always swell. This swelling may be imperceptible to the human eye. Only by surveying the shape of the ground with sensitive instruments can small changes be detected.

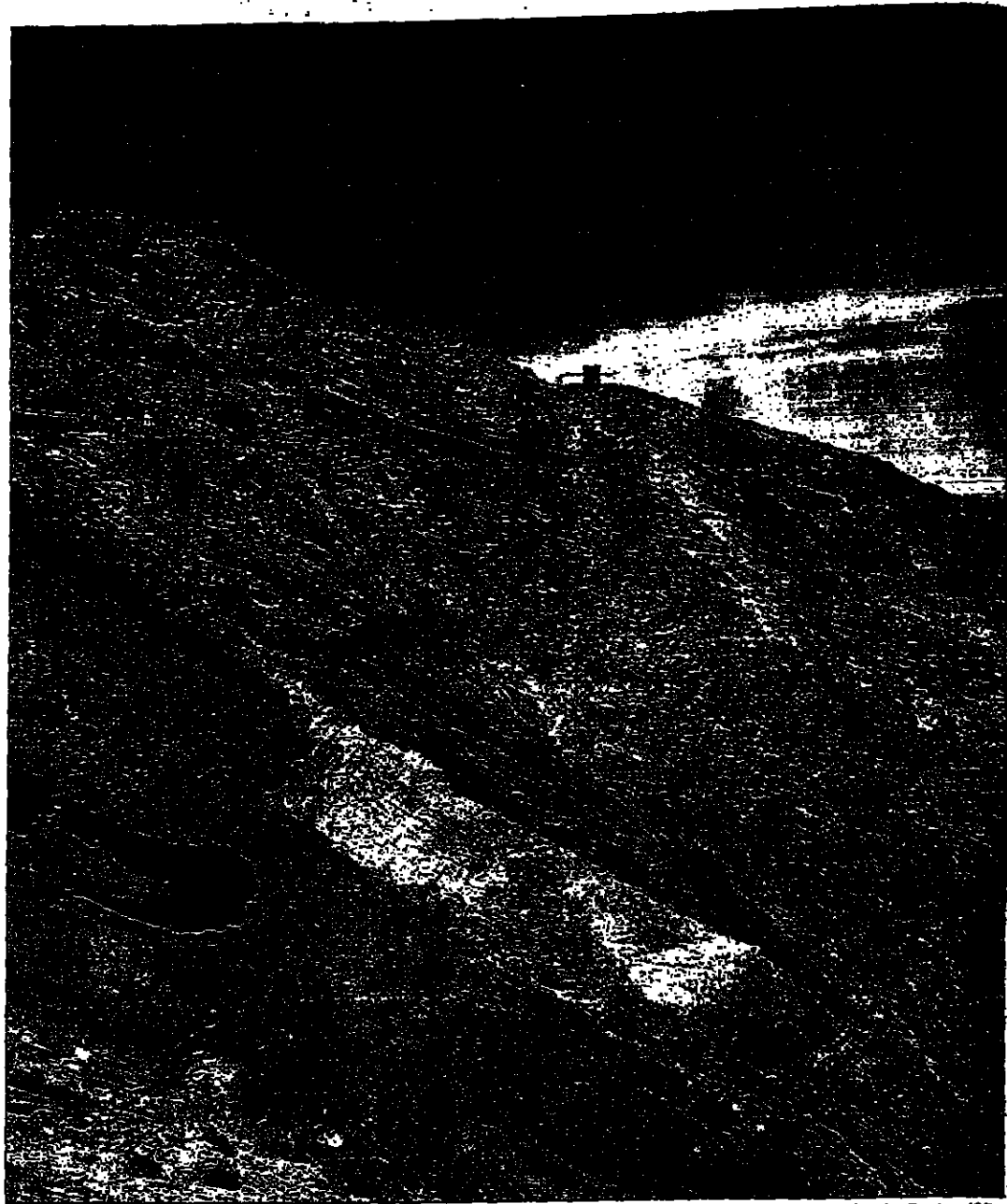
The team of scientists used a sys-

tem called electronic distance measuring (EDM). By bouncing an infra-red beam off a mirror on another ridge of the volcano and timing how long the beam takes to return, the EDM can be used to measure distances to an accuracy of a few centimetres per mile.

In late 1994, scientists set up a network of stations on the mountainside and accurately measured the distances between them. After one and a half years, they returned to measure the network again. If the distances between the stations had become greater over that period, this would suggest that either the fault had slipped or the ground was bulging as molten rock inflated the volcano.

For the moment, results show there has been no movement. While the rest of us might breathe a sigh of relief, the measurements are highly valuable to the scientists because they give them a "baseline", illustrating the behaviour of the volcano under normal conditions.

Should future studies reveal that the volcano has deviated from this, the prospect of the east coast of America being flooded by a wave from the other side of the Atlantic may turn from fiction to horrifying reality.



On the slide: La Palma's volcanic ridge may be ready to collapse

Photograph: David Parker/SPL

A close-up look at the biggest moon of all

Space probe 'Galileo' is going low to examine one of Jupiter's satellites. By **Heather Couper** and **Nigel Henbest**

Six months on from its triumphant arrival at Jupiter, NASA's spacecraft *Galileo* is about to send back its first pictures of the giant planet and some of its moons, including the most detailed views ever seen of a moon that is almost as big as the planet Mars.

Galileo swings past Ganymede, the largest moon in the solar system, early on Thursday morning. It skims a mere 844 km over the surface – 70 times nearer than the previous closest encounter – with *Voyager 2* in 1979. *Galileo* would be able to make out individual buildings on Ganymede, if any existed.

The main scientific return will be to understand this moon's peculiar geology. The pictures sent back by *Voyager 2* reveal that 40 per cent of Ganymede's surface is covered by large dark patches, strangely reminiscent of our Moon. There are numerous craters, blasted out by cosmic impacts, although the craters of Ganymede are surprisingly flat. Geologists believe the walls

have slumped because the surface is made of a mixture of rock and ice, which can gradually flow (like a glacier on Earth) and flatten out under its own weight. The largest dark area is named *Galileo Regio*. Fittingly, the spacecraft bearing the same name will be homing in on this region.

Its cameras will also be investigating the strangest feature of Ganymede – the paler areas lying between dark regions. *Voyager's* cameras showed that they consist of long grooves separated by parallel ridges. Some ridges are 700 metres high, and stretch for thousands of kilometres. Geologists call these areas "sulci", meaning a groove or burrow.

The sulci areas probably formed as the dark regions moved apart. On Earth, a similar stretching of the crust has

created the parallel mountain ranges of Nevada and Utah. But some geologists support a different theory – that the sulci was caused when ice below Ganymede's surface melted; as the water escaped upwards, the surface collapsed into wrinkles.

Not only Ganymede will be in the frame this week. *Galileo* will be taking more distant views of Jupiter's other big moons – Io, Europa and Callisto, and its first close-up views of the planet. Until now, *Galileo* has been travelling blind.

Mission controllers have kept the cameras switched off so far because of two different problems. The umbrella-like main antenna, which sends radio signals back to Earth, failed to open properly as *Galileo* sped toward Jupiter, so pictures can only be sent back at a very slow rate by a smaller

antenna. *Galileo* must store the pictures on a tape recorder and gradually send them back to Earth over a period of weeks. The images snapped this week, for example, won't be coming back to Earth until late in July.

As *Galileo* was set to take a preliminary set of pictures on its approach to Jupiter last December, however, the tape recorder stuck in "rewind" position. For safety's sake, NASA controllers cancelled the imaging session and switched off the recorder. They now believe they have figured out what went wrong and have found a way around it, so it should not be a problem in future.

Even though *Galileo* was blind as it swept past Io last December, it has provided interesting news about this moon. NASA scientists have now analysed in detail how Io's grav-

ity disturbed the spacecraft's path, and found it must have a very dense core. It probably consists of iron, like the Earth's core, and there are hints that Io's core may also be generating a magnetic field. If so, it is the first magnetic moon to be found in the solar system.

Over the past few months, NASA's researchers have also been re-analysing results from the probe that *Galileo* dropped into Jupiter's atmosphere last December. They show that Jupiter has powerful winds blowing not just at cloud-top

level, but reaching deep into its interior. Unlike Earth's weather, which is driven by the Sun's heat from above, it seems Jupiter's weather is controlled by heat coming up from deep in the planet's hot centre.

What's Up

With Jupiter in the news, take a look at the giant world for yourself. It's closest to the Earth this year on 4 July, shining more brilliantly than any star, low in the south during the late evening. (The outer planets Uranus and Neptune are

also at their closest and brightest this month, but you won't see these with the naked eye.) It should also show the light and dark bands on Jupiter, and reveal that the planet is slightly flattened, to a tangerine shape, because it spins around so rapidly; a 'day' on Jupiter is less than 10 hours long.

Diary (all times BST)

| | |
|--------|-------------------------------|
| July 1 | 4.59 am full moon |
| 4 | Jupiter at opposition |
| 7 | 7.53 pm moon at last quarter |
| 15 | 5.15 pm new moon |
| 18 | Neptune at opposition |
| 23 | 6.49 pm moon at first quarter |
| 25 | Uranus at opposition |
| 30 | 11.36 am full moon |

A small telescope will give

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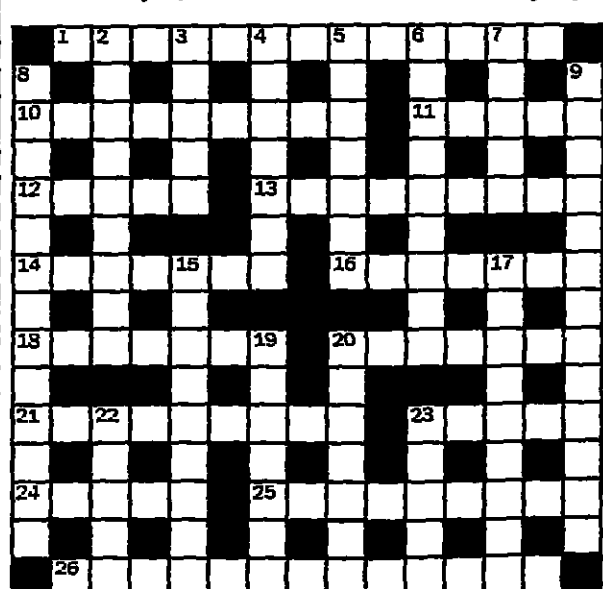
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THE INDEPENDENT CROSSWORD

No. 3021, Monday 24 June

By Curylus



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